



A Sociolinguistic Study of Dialect Contact and Change in Omani Arabic

Suaad Ambu Saidi

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نزوى التي شهدت على ميلادي
إلا وأترع لي كؤوس ودادي
بل ببيضة الإسلام والإرشاد
تعلو بمحتدها على الأطوار
تغني الحجاز بها بذلك الوادي
و بأريحية نورها الوقاد
يهوي إليه مدى الحياة فوادي
و الشعراء أهل الضاد
أعلى مفاخرها لدى الأجواد
و يزيدنها فضلاً مدى الأباد

مهوى الفؤاد و موطن الأمجاد
نزوى التي ما مر ذكر ربوعها
تخت الأئمة والهدى
أبقى لها الدين الحنيف منارة
هي في عمان كمكة الله التي
تزكو مساجدها بعرف عابقي
أكرم بنزوى منزلاً وأنزلته
أخصب بها أرضاً بها العلماء والأدباء
نزوى وما أدراك ما نزوى و ما
أدعو إلهي ذا الجلال يصونها

للشاعر: خميس بن ماجد الصباري

Nizwa is my heart and the home of glory
A city that witnessed my birth
Whenever it is mentioned, love comes to my mind
Cradle of Imams and guidance
Beacon of Islam and truth
Our religion makes it as a true beacon
Flying high above the mountains
It is like Makkah which Hijaz is boast of
Its mosques smell history and reflect bright light
Blessed Nizwa and its villages
My heart is in love with it forever
A land of scholars, writers and poets
Nizwa, what does it mean to us?
It is a pride for us
I pray to Allah Almighty to protect it
And bestow upon it glory

Poem by: Khamis bin Majid Al-Sabbari
Translation by: Ayman Al-Owisi

Abstract

A Sociolinguistic Study of Dialect Contact and Change in Omani Arabic

This study investigates change in the Nizwa dialect due to inter-dialectal contact caused by population movements towards Muscat. Particularly, it examines the use of five linguistic features of Nizwa Arabic belonging to different levels of the grammar. The phonological variables include the labialization of the high vowel /i/ and the vowel syncope in CV.C word-onsets. The morpho-syntactic variables are affricating the second-person feminine singular suffix, marking the future with the prefix [ʔa-] and adding /-ə/ clitics when composing *yes/no* questions.

Data was collected from 38 participants stratified by sex, age, age of arrival (AoA) and length of residence in Muscat (Labov 2001; Siegel 2010). It was elicited using sociolinguistic interviews, picture and map tasks and a judgment/transformation test.

Results confirm that the migrants' dialect is indeed undergoing change with regard to labialization, syncope, future marker and the *yes/no* question clitics. This is attributed to: (i) Improved interlocutor comprehensibility in contact settings and (ii) Speakers' desire to conform to the prestigious norms. This study presents several interesting findings to the field. First, it shows that older speakers (ages 25-50) are the highest adopters of the innovative features due to their involvement in the linguistic marketplace which increases their awareness of and thus desire to avoid stigmatized linguistic variants (Simmons 2003; Sankoff and Wagner 2006). Furthermore, a younger AoA is associated with conservative local use which is interpreted to result from maintaining local contacts in such speakers' social networks (Milroy and Milroy 1985). Additionally, a convergence to Nizwa dialect is attested in monitored speech styles. This dialect maintenance emphasizes speakers' desire to retain their Nizwa identity (Ivars 1994). This study shows that speakers' ideologies and identity affiliations can be strong correlates for predicting migrants' dialect divergence and convergence patterns (Ervin-Tripp 2002; Eckert 2003).

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"الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ الَّذِي هَدَانَا لِهَذَا وَمَا كُنَّا لِنَهْتَدِيَ لَوْلَا أَنْ هَدَانَا اللَّهُ"

"Praise to Allah, who has guided us to this; and we would never have been guided if Allah had not guided us" (Quran 7:43)

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List of Abbreviations

AoA: age of arrival

CAT: communication accommodation theory

D2: second dialect

GA: Gulf Arabic

HRT: High Rising Terminal

IPA: International Phonetic Alphabet

LoR: length of residence

MA: Muscat Arabic

MSA: Modern Standard Arabic

NC: negative concord

ND: Nizwa Dialect

OA: Omani Arabic

OCP: obligatory contour principle

SA: Standard Arabic (same as MSA)

SAND: Syntactic Atlas of the Dutch Dialects

SDA: second dialect acquisition

SSP: sonority sequence principle

SVO: subject-verb-object order

VSO: verb-subject-object order

Transcription Conventions and IPA Symbols

All examples in this thesis are transcribed phonetically using the following IPA symbols.

Consonants

Arabic grapheme	IPA	Description
أ/ء	ʔ	voiced glottal stop
ب	b	voiced bilabial stop
ت	t	voiceless alveolar stop
ث	θ	voiceless interdental fricative
ج	g	voiced velar stop
ح	ɟ	voiced palatal stop
خ	ħ	voiceless pharyngeal fricative
د	ɣ	voiceless uvular fricative
ذ	d	voiced alveolar stop
ر	ð	voiced interdental fricative
ز	r	voiced alveolar trill
س	z	voiced alveolar fricative
ش	s	voiceless alveolar fricative
ص	ʃ	voiceless palatal fricative
ض	s ^ɛ	voiceless emphatic alveolar fricative
ط	d ^ɛ	voiced emphatic alveolar stop
ظ	t ^ɛ	voiceless emphatic alveolar stop
ع	ð ^ɛ	voiced emphatic interdental fricative
غ	ʕ	voiced pharyngeal fricative
ف	ʁ	voiced uvular fricative
ق	f	voiceless labiodental fricative
ك	q	voiceless uvular stop
ك	c	voiceless palatal stop
ل	k	voiceless velar stop
م	l/ɭ	voiced dental lateral
ن	m	voiced bilabial nasal
ه	n	voiced alveolar nasal
و	h	voiceless glottal fricative
ي	w	voiced labial-velar glide
ي	j	voiced palatal glide
تش	ɟ	voiced palato-alveolar affricate
چ	tʃ	voiceless palato-alveolar affricate
چ	ʒ	voiced palato-alveolar fricative
چ	dʒ	voiced post-alveolar affricate

Vowels

Vowel	Short	Long
High front	i	i:
Mid front	-	e:
Mid back	-	o:
Low front unrounded	a	a:
Low back unrounded	-	-
High back rounded	u	u:

Transcription Conventions and symbols

#: word onset

.: syllable boundary

Ø: null/zero/deleted

': stressed syllable

*: unacceptable/blocked output

>: becomes/changes to

↑: rising intonation

C: consonant

Q: question particle

V: vowel

fem: feminine

masc: masculine

pl: plural

sg: singular

1p: first-person

2p: second-person

3p: third-person

FUT: future

ACC: accusative case

NOM: nominative case

GEN: genitive case

CP: complementizer phrase

NP: noun phrase

VP: verb phrase

NEG: negation marker

SUB: subjunctive case

CHAPTER 1 Introduction

This study belongs to the field of variationist sociolinguistics, which “has a relatively short history, but it is a burgeoning history” (Chambers 2006a:1). It builds on the work of the field’s founder, William Labov, and his successors to provide new empirical insights from an area and a dialect not yet investigated to contribute to the variationist paradigm. The following section details the motivations for this study.

1.0 Motivation for the study

For decades, consistent patterns for language variation have been systematically reported by variationist studies across languages and societies (Milroy and Gordon 2003:116). Additionally, sociolinguists have demonstrated that linguistic variation stems not only from internal constraints, but also from the social evaluations of linguistic forms (Chamber 2006:3). In recent years, variationist sociolinguists have focused on the effect of contact between different dialects of the same language. Chambers (2002:117) confirms that “unprecedented geographic mobility” and urbanization have led to increased worldwide face-to-face inter-dialectal contact. This contact has been revealed to cause speakers to change their original dialects and adopt the features of second dialects (e.g. Payne 1980; Trudgill 1986; Anderson 1988; Britain 1997; Williams and Kerswill 1999).

In the Middle East, urbanization reshaped the Arab countries that were primarily rural in the mid-twentieth century; however, their populations are now predominantly urban (Miller 2007:1-2). Miller (2007:2) also mentions that the urban consolidation in the Arab world has resulted in the growth of populations in different Arab states. This has led to attracting populations from rural areas to urban cities; thus, bringing different dialects into contact. Nevertheless, as Miller (2007:1-2) clarifies, “[l]ittle is known about the linguistic outcomes of this massive urbanization process” across the Arab communities. Indeed, researchers of language variation within this area tend to outline the language variation within the dialects spoken in Egypt (Birkeland 1952; Schmidt 1986), Iraq (Blanc 1974; Abu-Haidar 1989; Yaseen 2015), Jordan (Abdel-Jawad 1986; Al-Wer 1991) and the Levant (El-Hassan 1977; Daher 1999). Studies dedicated to dialect change in Gulf Arabic¹

¹Related dialects spoken along the Gulf littoral from Kuwait to Oman (Holes 1990).

(GA) are few and focus primarily on Bahraini, Kuwaiti and Saudi varieties of Arabic (e.g. Holes 1986, 1995; Al-Essa 2008; Taqi 2010; Al-Rojaei 2013). Thus, considering the lack of research on dialect change within other Arab communities, I focus on this phenomenon among the diverse groups of speakers using the Nizwa dialect (ND henceforth) of Omani Arabic. This is because no thorough investigation has been conducted to date on the varieties of Omani Arabic.

The focus on ND is justified by the fact that the economic developments in Oman after 1970 have led to major socioeconomic changes in the country, which affected the Omanis' patterns of income and lifestyles. As such, the population of Nizwa city is now highly mobile and there is a high rate of migration to the capital Muscat (further details will follow in CHAPTER 3). In this urban center, the Nizwa migrants are exposed to different varieties of Arabic, which promotes the likelihood for change in ND amongst this group of speakers. If those speakers adopt new dialectal norms, there is a chance that such features will diffuse back to the original community in Nizwa (see 2.22.01.1.3). As stated by Schreier (2009:682):

“[L]inguistic innovations start in high-contact population groups (mostly major cities), from where they spread to the rural hinterlands, so that speakers away from the mainstream adopt changes much later (if ever)”.

Therefore, it is important to begin by studying the speech of the migrants in Muscat to understand subsequent changes to ND.

Another important motivation for this study is that most of the studies on language change in Arabic remain largely focused on phonological changes, especially the use of consonants (e.g. Al-Tamimi 2001; Hachimi 2005; Alqahtani 2015). Miller (2007:2) also refers to this gap, stating that variationist research in Arabic “is restricted to a small number of phonological variables”. Therefore, this study can expand the field of Arabic dialect change by also reviewing morphological and syntactic changes, since ND has phonological, morphological and syntactic features, which differ from the other varieties in Oman. Furthermore, this study examines phonological changes in vowel use; an avenue seldom investigated by variationist studies in Arabic. Studying the variation in those features can shed light on the effects of social and linguistic parameters on the restructuring of the different levels of grammar and on adults' second dialect acquisition (SDA) throughout their lifespan.

The following section relates this study to the relevant frameworks.

1.1 Situating the study: sociolinguistics of migration

1.1.1 Migration theory: meaning and forms

Migration is an issue discussed within many disciplines and “the study of migration confirms, *par excellence*, the newer emphasis in the social sciences and humanities on commensurability and mutual intelligibility across disciplines” (Cohen 1995:8). Migration is theorized to be driven by the unparalleled distribution of affluence, opportunity and privilege between one area and another to improve living conditions (King 2012:135). Moreover, King (2012:136-137) clarifies that mobility can be voluntary or forced; however, in all cases, “migrants are not constantly on the move”. Instead, their spatial movement is an attempt to find a place to settle down, whether temporarily or permanently (King and Skeldon 2010:1620).

Scholars study the field of migration from the perspectives of *internal migration*, which is based on “internal movements of populations” within their respective countries, or *international migration*, which refers to the movement across borders (King and Skeldon 2010:1620). While the population of international migrants totals 200 million, the number of internal migrants is estimated to be much higher given that we are living in “an age of mass internal migration” (King and Skeldon 2010:1620-1621).

1.1.2 Migration and language contact

Undeniably, mobility brings diversity in many aspects. Vertovec (2007) invokes the notion of *superdiversity* to refer to the complex situation created by immigration which results in diversity in ethnicity, gender and age profiles, patterns of spatial distribution, religion, language etc. Vertovec (2007:1025) also refers to other variables for superdiversity including “differential immigration statuses and their concomitant entitlements and restrictions of rights, [and] divergent labour market experiences”. Such factors are certainly present in Oman and Muscat in particular. Muscat is a host for Omani and non-Omani residents, who are Arab and non-Arabs (Peterson 2004; Al-Gharibi 2014)² and they come with different residency statuses (employees, asylum seekers, citizens). The inhabitants of Muscat also bring with them different languages, dialects, faiths and Islamic sects (Peterson 2004, Al-Balushi 2016). Based on the statistics of the National Center for

² Further details will follow in (3.2).

Statistics and Information (2017:69-72), the immigrants cause an imbalance in the gender and age distributions. For example, according to the 2016 statistics, there are 510 males per 100 females and the majority of them are aged between 25-30 years. The statistics also confirm that although immigrants are located across the different governorates in Oman, most of them are concentrated in Muscat (the National Center for Statistics and Information 2017:76-78). Such information entails that Muscat is indeed characterized by superdiversity.

Although superdiversity is used frequently in research to refer to ethnic and multi-dimensional diversity (Meissner 2015:558), Meissner (2015:560) explains that this term is “a malleable concept” that has the value of bringing together “migration studies, ethnic and racial studies, and other areas of research”. Undeniably, the study of migration has impacted linguistic theory where the concept of superdiversity has been influential (e.g. Creese and Blackledge 2010; Arnaut and Spotti 2014; Budach and de Saint-Georges 2017). For example, Budach and de Saint-Georges (2017:64) write based on (Arnaud and Spotti 2014) that:

“[S]uperdiversity... fits with a certain naturalness with post-structuralist views on diversity and identity adopted by many linguistic anthropologists or sociolinguists- a perspective that considers for example that identities and speech communities, far from being static and immutable, are to the contrary complex, hybrid, unstable and changing”.

Meissner (2015:557) acknowledges that addressing superdiversity has created the potential to examine patterns that are “not linked to origin or destination alone, but that can be broadly described as migration-related”. Put simply, superdiversity facilitates the investigation of social and linguistic patterns that can emerge within migrants, but which are not necessarily found in the original or host communities or languages.

Undeniably, the increased rate of migration worldwide has advanced research on the topic of languages in contact (Clyne 2003:1) and the diversification of linguistic patterns yielded by speakers’ movement. As Blommaert (2010:4-5) states, “mobility of people also involves mobility of linguistic and sociolinguistic resources that ‘sedentary’ or ‘territorialized’ patterns of language use are compensated by ‘translocal’ or ‘deterritorialized’ forms of language use”. Indeed, diasporic populations bring not only their languages but also their dialects to the host communities. Therefore, linguists tend to examine the effects of language contact and dialect contact, which can trigger linguistic change and innovations. According to Chamorro (2012:53), such contact-

induced change may take the form of losing linguistic features, adding new features or replacing old features with “interference features” (also see 2.22.02.2.2).

Research on language contact explores issues such as bilingualism and multilingualism (e.g. McLaughlin 1984; Zantella 1997; Auer and Wei 2007; Heller and Pavlenko 2010; Khamis-Dakwar and Khattab 2014), code-switching (e.g. Poplack 1980; Rampton 1995; Lo 1999; Auer and Eastman 2010; Kattab 2013) and even acquiring variation in a second language (e.g. Adamson and Regan 1991; Bayley 1996; Mougeon et al. 2004; Drummond 2010). Variationists and sociolinguists employ the sociolinguistics of mobility (Blommaert 2010:5) to focus on the variation and change arising from contact between dialects (see 1.1.3).

1.1.3 The models adopted in the study

This study utilizes the model of internal migration as it is one of the prominent features of contemporary Omani society (see 3.2.1). Moreover, it employs the model of the sociolinguistics of mobility to investigate the linguistic outcomes of Oman’s internal migration.

One of the important developments of sociolinguistics is the transition from the “sociolinguistics of ‘community’ to one of ‘contact’” (Slembrouk 2011:160). Blommaert (2010:5) states that the model of “sociolinguistics of mobility focuses on language-in-motion whereby different spatiotemporal frames interact with each other”. Movement is acknowledged to affect speakers’ communicative resources as accents, styles and modes of conversational arrangements are sensitive to mobility (Blommaert 2014:246). It thus results in contact-induced change (Slembrouk 2011:156). Kerswill (2006:2276) differentiates between two types of movement; thereby leading to the transfer of linguistic features, which are expansion and relocation diffusion. Expansion diffusion occurs when features spread outward from one area to another, while relocation diffusion refers to the spread of features to the adopters through their movement to the new dialect area (Gould 1969:3). The migration model used in this study fits with the latter type of diffusion.

When exploring internal migration from a sociolinguistic perspective, consideration is given to three issues: space, time and motivation for the migration (Kerswill 2006). The first issue requires examining whether administrative boundaries are crossed, the migration is long or short distance, and whether the migration moves towards a rural center. The time factor focuses on the frequency of the migration. It is important to check whether the migration occurs in a repetitive way, whether

it is periodic and whether it is short or long-term. Finally, examining the motivation and sociocultural factors for the migration helps with understanding whether the migration is forced or triggered by economic and cultural factors. All these factors can result in different allegiances and links to the original dialect area, which would lead subsequently to different sociolinguistic effects on the linguistic variation.

Although the internal migration from Nizwa to Muscat is elaborated on in CHAPTER 3, it seems appropriate at this point to provide a broad description of this migration in relation to the above factors. The migration from Nizwa to Muscat is short-distance (see 3.3); nevertheless, the Nizwa migrants cross administrative boundaries when they leave the rural Dakhilyah Governorate and relocate to the Muscat Governorate, which is an urban area. This migration can be short-term when the migrant travels to Muscat to enrol in a higher education institution, for instance. However, it can also be a long-term migration when a person moves there to work or a family moves with the parent/parents who work there. Yet, in both cases, the migrants are not completely cut off from the local Nizwa society as they return at the weekends and for special occasions.³ These patterns of migration clarify that the relocation from Nizwa to Muscat is motivated by the desire for better education and employment opportunities (also see 3.3).

Adopting the frameworks of internal migration and sociolinguistics of mobility will have implications for this study. Within these models, contact-induced change is interpreted as rarely “linguistic” in the strict sense of the term... [rather it is considered] *indexical*. It is the language-ideological framing-in-uptake of accents, styles and so on that changes whenever people move from one place to another” (Blommaert 2014:246). Therefore, utilizing these frameworks requires inspecting the indexicality of the linguistic change under investigation and interpreting the meanings of the dialect change among the Nizwa migrants by relating the findings to the ideologies that emerge during the data collection process (see CHAPTER 4). This in turn allows generalizations and realistic predictions to be made regarding the sociolinguistic outcomes of migration and dialect contact (Kerswill 2006:2290).

Having positioned my work in relation to the relevant fields of research, the following section outlines the aims of this investigation.

³ Further details are given in (8.2.3).

1.2 Aims of the study

This study investigates the change in ND as its speakers migrate to Muscat from their home city of Nizwa. Five variables are examined, among which, two are phonological (vowel labialization and vowel syncope), two are morphological (the second-person feminine singular suffix and the future morpheme) and one is syntactic (the clitics on *yes/no* questions). This study will help provide a brief foundational background to ND by offering insights into the phonological, morphological and syntactic variables under investigation. Further details on these variables and their changes among the Nizwa migrants are offered in (4.3) and CHAPTER 5.

The following research questions are addressed:

1. To what extent is the use of these variables affected by the extra-linguistic factors of gender, age, age of arrival (AoA) to Muscat, length of residence (LoR) and speech style?

This question aims to examine the social factors that are cross-linguistically reported to influence language variation and SDA (see CHAPTER 4) to assess their effect on the dialect change of Nizwa Arabic and to uncover whether these factors are also influential in this dialect which has not been previously investigated. Additionally, it aims to reveal whether different speech contexts (casual vs. careful) lead to a difference in speakers' linguistic choices. In doing so, it also tests the value of the methods developed in this study to examine the role of speech style, so that other Arabic sociolinguistic studies can benefit.

2. To what extent is the variable use of the vocalic variables affected by the preceding and following linguistic conditions? And do these environments interact with each other in eliminating the local use?
3. To what extent is the variable use of the future marker affected by the linguistic conditions that influence this morpheme in other languages (e.g. proximity to the future, grammatical subject and animacy of the subject)?

Questions 3 and 4 aim to uncover the role of applicable linguistic constraints on the variation within the investigated variables. Addressing this issue will clarify the effect of

the internal factors on the change of ND and reveal whether the internal factors interact with the external factors referred to in question 2.

Further details on the linguistic variables and the linguistic and social constraints will follow throughout CHAPTER 4 and CHAPTER 5. The next section details the structure of this dissertation.

1.3 Structure of the study

CHAPTER 2 explores issues of dialect contact and the study of dialect change. It reviews the literature on language variation and dialect change in western communities. Furthermore, it discusses dialect contact in Arabic with reference to diglossia within the Arab communities and its effect on the assignment of social prestige and on dialect change in different varieties of Arabic. A review of variationist and dialect change studies in Arabic is also offered.

CHAPTER 3 provides the context of this study by presenting a brief background to Oman, including its history, the socioeconomic developments over the previous decades and its linguistic repertoire. Information about the social and linguistic profiles of Muscat and Nizwa is also provided. Such contextual information can help with understanding the linguistic variation under investigation.

The methodology of this study is presented in CHAPTER 4. This section reviews the social factors to which I refer when examining the dependent variables and I explain the rationale for their selection. Moreover, I describe the methods used to collect the data and justify their selection. The chapter also discusses the type of statistical analysis applied.

CHAPTER 5 details the five linguistic variables that are examined. It develops phonological rules for the two vocalic processes based on existing literature and evidence from ND. Further, it explains the development of the two morphological variables and traces the grammaticalization process of the future morphemes in Arabic generally, and the ND form particularly. Likewise, a description of the syntactic clitics of the ND *yes/no* questions is provided.

CHAPTER 6 and CHAPTER 7 present the results of the statistical analyses of the five variables in relation to the social factors and the applicable linguistic constraints. Discussions of these results are also provided.

CHAPTER 8 offers a general discussion that refers to the implications of the findings. It also refers to the role of social networks, ideology and identity in the change in ND and relates the findings on the Omani context to those from other Arab and western societies. This chapter also outlines the limitations of this study, offers recommendations for future research and concludes this dissertation.

CHAPTER 2 Literature Review

2.0 Introduction

This chapter offers a background to the issues that are central to the current study. It begins in (2.1) with an overview of dialect contact and its role in triggering dialect change. The latter is discussed in (2.2) in which I refer to the approaches that are used to study dialect change and how it can be manifested. Next, I review the literature on dialect change in western communities in (2.3). I then proceed to address the issue of dialect contact in Arabic in section (2.4). I refer to language variation in Arabic in (2.4.1) by discussing the framework of diglossia and its effect on how the different varieties of Arabic are evaluated in relation to prestige. In (2.4.2), I provide general information about the development of the Arabic dialects and their role in speakers' social lives. Moreover, I outline how prestige is assigned in Arab communities currently, which can help understand the direction of dialect change in Arabic. Section (2.4.3) reviews some dialect contact studies from different Arab societies and section (2.5) refers to the themes which have been influential in understanding dialect change. A conclusion to this chapter is provided in (2.6).

2.1 Dialect contact

Trudgill (1986:1) defines dialect contact as a situation in which closely related varieties of a language interact with each other. He describes these dialects as “mutually intelligible at least to some degree”. This definition explains that complete intelligibility is not necessarily warranted between the varieties of a language. Braunmüller (1996:144) expands on Trudgill's definition to stress that dialect contact is “predominantly oral contacts between mutually intelligible non-standard varieties”. This definition entails that the communication between speakers of different dialects is not governed by prescribed norms for pronunciation, morphology, syntax or lexical choices. Rather, speakers can make decisions on their linguistic choices based on the social norms they prefer to adopt. Undeniably, speakers can adopt different linguistic forms in diverse contexts, times or locations; thereby reflecting the variations in the social interpretation of these forms and signalling their alignment to different meanings in a range of situations. For example, Al-Wer (2013:406-407) refers to Al-Wer and Herrin's (2011) analysis of the “life cycle” of the Arabic canonical variable (Q) in three generations of Jordanians in Amman. She reports that speakers of Jordanian origin have the local variant [g], yet they gradually shifted towards the use of the urban Palestinian variant [ʔ]. This shift began with women and was a gender marker for the second

generation in the sample. However, by the third generation, even men participated in this change; thus, indicating a change in the social norms adopted by men in this generation. The men in the third generation prioritized economic gain (since the use of [ʔ] by men was induced by employment patterns) over ethnic affiliation and even gender portrayal, which were respectively reflected by the first generation's use of the variant [g] and the second generation's females' use of [ʔ].

Verbal contact between speakers of different dialects has been revealed to result in changes to speakers' linguistic behavior, which leads subsequently to dialect change (Williams and Kerswill 1999:9-10). This highlights the fact that "dialect contact is, in its way, as important an area for investigation as language contact is" (Trudgill 1986:vii). In other words, studying dialect change arising from dialect contact is a necessity, especially in today's world, which is described as "rapidly globalizing and urbanizing" (Mirza 2013:19).

2.2 Studying dialect change

2.2.1 The approach

Siegel (2010:19) reports that the acquisition of features of a second dialect (D2) is researched "by scholars from the fields of sociolinguistics and dialectology." Likewise, Trudgill (1999a:2-3) emphasizes that the two fields share similar linguistic objectives and that mutual cooperation leads to greater understanding of the phenomenon of linguistic change. According to Milroy and Gordon (2003:16), traditional dialectology looks at linguistic features in isolation and not as a part of a whole system. Obviously, this entails that dialectology can help identify the features used by speakers of the different dialects; however, it can neither help explain the direction of change nor its motivations. Thus, the contribution of sociolinguistics is vital, and can be twofold:

1. Macro-sociolinguistics/secular linguistics rely on large-scale examinations within the sociology of language to reveal the patterns of a linguistic change (Trudgill 1999a:2). In this approach, speakers are stratified into socially meaningful groups (e.g. gender, age, socioeconomic class etc.) (Milroy and Gordon 2003:116) and quantitative analysis is employed to uncover the patterns of linguistic use amongst these groups (Eckert 2012:88).⁴ Clearly, the input of macro-sociolinguistics can reveal the trends of a linguistic/dialect

⁴ Eckert (2012) refers to this approach as the first wave of language variation studies.

change; however, it is insufficient to understand why a change occurs within certain social groups, but not others.

2. Micro-sociolinguistics utilizes “the social psychology of language” to find the meaning for linguistic use in face-to-face interactions (Trudgill 1999a:2). Eckert (2012:91) states that this type of analysis provides a social agency for linguistic use and interprets that linguistic choices reflect speakers’ participation in social configurations (e.g. social networks as in Milroy and Milroy (1978)⁵ and community of practice, as in Eckert (1989a).⁶ Micro-sociolinguistics also views “variation as a reflection of social identities and categories to the linguistic practice in which speakers place themselves in the social landscape through stylistic practice” (Eckert 2012:94).⁷

Both sociolinguistic approaches consider the different aspects of speakers’ social lives to interpret language variation. This investigation is designed on the basis of the first approach, but resorts to the second to interpret the findings.

2.2.2 Forms of dialect change

Language variation and dialect change have been explained as being motivated by *accommodation* (Siegel 2012:19). Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT) is based on social psychology and was introduced by Giles (1973) to justify the changes in speakers’ accents in interactions (Soliz and Giles 2014:106). It explains that speakers’ mutable linguistic practices in face-to-face interaction are a mechanism for reducing dissimilarities in their speech (Trudgill 1999a:6). Trudgill (1986:3-11) clarifies that in dialect contact situations, there can be short-term and long-term accommodation. Short-term accommodation arises between speakers of socially different dialects. For example, when one speaker who is a working-class employee and the other who is a middle-class manager interact with each other, one of them will shift towards some of the linguistic features of the other speaker. However, s/he will not necessarily extend such linguistic adjustment to speech events with other interlocutors of her/his same social class. Moreover, Trudgill explains that in long-term accommodation, speakers modify their use of linguistic variables even in interactions

⁵ See (2.5.1) for further details.

⁶ Eckert (2012) refers to this approach as the second wave of language variation studies.

⁷ Eckert (2012) refers to this approach as the third wave of language variation studies.

with “speakers who are members of [their] same speech community”. This type of accommodation could potentially become permanent; resulting subsequently in a dialect change (Trudgill 1986:39).

Similarly, Kerswill (2002:188) clarifies that long-term accommodation leads to levelling the differences between the speakers’ distinct dialects. Dialect levelling is interpreted as “the process which reduces variation both within and between dialects” (Hinskens et al. 2005:11). Fundamentally, speakers reduce their use of the *salient features* and *markers* (see below) of their original dialects and start adopting features of the D2, which levels the two dialects and makes them comparable. In time, this long-term accommodation becomes a dialect change. However, it is noteworthy that a dialect change can be manifested either as dialect convergence, which is when the dialects in contact become more comparable to each other; or dialect divergence, which occurs when the similarity between dialects decreases (Hinskens et al. 2005:1). Thus, the concepts of dialect convergence and dialect divergence will be central to this study. This investigation will uncover whether the dialect of the immigrants from Nizwa to Muscat converge to or diverge from supralocal dialectal norms available in Muscat (see 3.3.2.2 and 4.3).

Regarding the features targeted by dialect change, Siegel (2010:19) explains that dialects may differ in vocabulary, grammar (morphology and syntax), pragmatics and pronunciations (vowels, consonants and pitch); moreover, these areas are subject to change. Trudgill (1986:98) further explains that “*marked* variants” are likely to change; namely, the variants that are in the minority or infrequent in the community. He also states that dialect change can target *salient* markers, which are socially-stigmatized linguistic features, those that demonstrate phonological contrast and phonetic differences and features known to undergo dialect change in other varieties (1986:11,37). The following section reviews some studies that investigate dialect contact in western communities and report on changes at the different linguistic levels.

2.3 Dialect contact studies in western communities

One of the early studies on adults’ dialect change is Shockey’s (1984) investigation of the speech of four Americans (two males and two females) residing in Essex, UK. Shockey conducts half-hour sociolinguistic interviews with the participants to examine their use of three phonological features, which are distinct in British and American pronunciation. First, the vowel in words like LOT, which is realized as a low rounded back vowel [ɒ] in British English, but as a low unrounded back vowel [ɑ] in American English. Shockey finds that the speakers could change their use of

their local variant of this vowel, yet they realized the vowel as [ɔ]. The second feature is the diphthong in words like GOAT, which is pronounced as [əʊ] in British English and as [oʊ] in American English. She reports that the Americans could sometimes use the British English norm of this variable. Third, the use of the American English flapping of /t/ and /d/ into [ɾ] when they are intervocalic as in *later* and *ladder*. Shockey (1984:89-90) reports that the average frequency for /t/ flapping was 36%, while the average rate of /d/ flapping was as high as 65%.

This study reveals that the speakers are successful in diverging from their native use of the LOT vowel, but they could not fully acquire the British variant. Furthermore, the success in using the new variant of the GOAT vowel and in reducing the use of flapping entails that adults can acquire new phonological forms and converge to new dialectal norms; however, they cannot replace their older variants entirely. Shockey (1984:92) explains that accommodation occurred among her participants to avoid “being identified as foreign in every encounter involving speech” and to facilitate understanding, since “not all the individual words are understood in this cross-dialect situation”. This interesting study is an example for a dialect convergence prompted by speakers’ desire to fit in with interlocutors and their desire to achieve success in communication (see 2.5).

Another early study is Trudgill’s (1986:28-31) analysis of the acquisition of Australian English features by seven-year-old twins (boy and girl) from Reading in southern England who moved to Australia for a year. Their speech is recorded monthly for six months. Trudgill examines the twins’ use of fifteen consonantal features (e.g. flapping intervocalic /t/ in Australian English and syllable-final /t/ glottaling in Reading English) and vocalic ones (e.g. the vowels in KIT, PRICE, FACE, BATH, GOOSE, STRUT, GOAT), which are realized differently in the two dialects. He reports that within six months, the children acquired the Australian English phonology and sounded native-like; i.e. a dialect convergence towards Australian English norms is attested in this study. Nonetheless, the dynamics of this acquisition are striking since the boy was able to accommodate Australian norms within four months, while the girl was slower and most of the replacements of her native variants occurred after five months. Simultaneously, the girl managed to acquire features that the boy did not (e.g. the vowels in KIT, *David* and *there*). Trudgill also mentions that the twins acquired the Australian variants in a different order.

These findings emphasize that the children’s acquisition of D2 features was unsystematic, despite them being of the same age and having the same length of stay in the new dialect area. However, considering that the results are based only on two children, it would be a sweeping statement to say

that D2 acquisition is irregular and random. Indeed, many researchers have referred to rule difficulty as an influential factor in the order of acquiring new D2 features (e.g. Payne 1980; Vousten and Bongaerts 1990; Chambers 1992; Britain 1997). Based on insights from the field of second language acquisition, it can be inferred that the degree of rules' complexity can differ from one learner to another (Pica 2005). Such insights can be transferred to the field of SDA. Acknowledging that learners have different abilities about comprehending different dialectal rules can explain the irregularity in the British twins' acquisition of the Australian phonology. Simultaneously, the children's successful accommodation of most of the Australian features confirms that the acquisition of phonological features is likely to be complete when exposure occurs at a young age.

Braunmüller (1996) also examines the linguistic situation within the Hanseatic League which rose as an economic, political and cultural area around the Baltic in Europe. This area was subject to contact between languages of separate linguistic traditions (Middle Low German, Danish and Swedish). In addition, there was contact between dialects that are mutually understandable (Danish, Dano-Norwegian, New Norwegian and Swedish). Braunmüller (1996:145-148) affirms that the German-Scandinavian language contact did not result in bilingualism since Latin was used as a written form of communication. Hence, speakers followed their original linguistic norms and loanwords were used only for "communicative necessity". However, oral face-to-face interactions between the different dialects resulted in "*a balanced accommodation process*" whereby the speakers used linguistic norms from interlocutors' dialects. Hence, Braunmüller describes the linguistic situation within the Hanseatic League to demonstrate that within each group of speakers, there is a dominance of one language (their original one) that is considered prestigious and standard, while the other languages are considered inferior or non-standard. Nevertheless, the dialect contact is interpreted to consider dialects to be of equal rights and accommodating to them is "a fair compromise in order to achieve (soon) communication at low costs and in an effective way". Indeed, the dialect contact situation between the traders in this context can be understood as a type of short-term accommodation where the levelling of dialects happens to facilitate the communicative needs of the speakers in such speech events to achieve economic gain. However, once this need is fulfilled, speakers would have no need to use the D2 features with other speakers of their original dialects. Thus, essentially, long-term accommodation and dialect change is not expected in those contact situations.

Another study is Kerswill's (1994) investigation of the dialect contact situation in the Norwegian city of Bergen. Bergen, an economically, socially and linguistically differentiated city from its neighboring areas, attracted immigration from rural areas since the 19th century (Kerswill 1994:29). Kerswill studies the linguistic patterns among immigrants from the coastal area of Strill. He uses data from 19 males and 20 females to examine their use of different linguistic variables. First, morpho-lexical differences since Strill and Bergen dialects have wide morphological and lexical differences (e.g. gender marking, prepositions, verb suffixes, nouns and verbs' choices etc.). Second, the lowering of the schwa in unstressed pre-pause positions as the schwa in words like /skʉ:lə/ 'school' and /hʉ:sə/ 'the house' is lowered and fronted to [ɛ], [æ] or [a] in the Bergen dialect. Kerswill reports on a dialect convergence towards Bergen dialect. He (1994:127) states that the majority of the Strill migrants adopted the dialectal morpho-lexical and phonological norms of Bergen. Kerswill (1994:102-113) explains that accommodation of Bergen's morpho-lexical forms correlates with older females, early movers and significant pressure to use the Bergen dialect. Regarding schwa-lowering, he (1994:120-125) reports a divergence from the Strill's norm by younger females, early movers and more in the interview style than the conversation style. Clearly, Kerswill's study indicates that adults can still have a degree of acquisition of phonological and morpho-lexical linguistic features. This supports the theory that SDA continues to be possible in adulthood even when features are as complex as Bergen's schwa lowering.⁸

Focusing on dialect change within grammar, Cornips and Corrigan (2005a) employ the variationist and generative approaches to investigate syntactic variation in the Dutch dialect of Limburg. This area is influenced linguistically by its geographical position as a neighbor of the German area of Rhineland. Therefore, the Limburg dialect is influenced by Standard Dutch, Rhineland dialect and Standard German (Cornips and Corrigan 2005a:112-113). Using data from acceptability judgement questionnaires conducted in 1885 and 1994, Cornips and Corrigan study the use of middle constructions (adjunct and personal) whereby a reflexive marker could be present (a local feature) or absent (a standard feature). Their results reveal that in 1885, the reflexive marker was used universally in the Rhineland dialect, while it was used with adjunct and impersonal middles in the north of Limburg and only with impersonal middles in the south of Limburg. However, by 1994, the Limburg dialect had developed a similar pattern to that of the Rhineland, thereby indicating that the Limburg dialect converged towards the Rhineland dialect's use of this feature. Conversely,

⁸ The schwa lowering is considered a complex rule because it has syllable boundaries as well as specifications on stress requirements (see 8.1.1 for further details on rule complexity).

the Rhineland dialect underwent dialect divergence as its speakers restricted their use of the reflexive marker to the impersonal middle environment, which is comparable to the use of Standard German. This study has the advantage of using real-time data generated following the generative tradition and using it to uncover community-level change. The results indicate that while the Limburg population considered the Rhineland dialect to be a prestige norm and aspired to match it, speakers of the Rhineland dialect made a different evaluation. To them, prestige was associated with Standard German and, therefore, they converged towards it. This observation emphasizes the fact that socially-esteemed norms can differ from one area to another.

Finally, the literature presented in the above studies shows that dialect contact leads to speakers' convergence to prestigious dialectal norms and their divergence from dialectal features of low-esteem social groups. Additionally, research reveals that naturalistic acquisition of a regional dialect can be feasible in childhood (e.g. Payne 1980; Rogers 1981; Chambers 1992; Roberts 1994; Starks and Bayard 2002; Tagliamonte and Molfenter 2007) and adulthood (e.g. Wells 1973; Vousten and Bongaerts 1990; Munro et al. 1999; Foreman 2003; Babel 2009, Fix 2013, Nilsson 2015). Yet, the rates of success, the types of features that could be acquired and the degrees of the effects of internal and social constraints can vary from one community and language variety to another (also see Siegel 2010 and 8.2 in this study).

The next section reviews dialect contact within the Arab world.

2.4 Dialect contact in Arabic

2.4.1 Studying language variation in Arabic

The Arabic language “lends itself easily to the study of language variation and change” due to the abundance of dialects and varieties. Even though work on Arabic dialectology commenced long before the English counterpart, variationist studies in Arabic began two decades after Labov's pioneering work (Horesh and Cotter 2016:370).

For a long time, the linguistic situation in Arabic communities has been described as diglossic, whereby “two varieties of a language exist side by side throughout the community with each having a definite role to play” (Ferguson 1959:336). Ferguson considered diglossia in Arabic to result in a division between Classical Arabic and colloquial Arabic. Classical Arabic is the language of the

Quran and the earliest and modern-day literature (Abdelali 2003:23). Al-Wer (1997:254) clarifies that this variety is introduced in formal education, but has no native speakers since it is not acquired as a mother tongue. Conversely, colloquial Arabic is unwritten and constitutes the varieties used in daily interactions. Native Arabic speakers acquire their colloquial varieties naturally and develop intuitions. Al-Wer (1997:254-255) further explains that Arabs accord prestige to Classical Arabic because it represents “the Arab culture and Islamic religion”.

Moreover, Modern Standard Arabic/Standard Arabic (MSA/SA) is a new variety that has developed in the Arabic world and includes features from both Classical and colloquial Arabic (Eid 1987:21). Written and educated spoken forms of contemporary Arabic is dominated by this variety. MSA contains similar morphological and syntactic structures to Classical Arabic and the two varieties differ in small phonological features to the extent that “the majority of Arabic speakers share a popular belief that Arabic has not undergone any change” (Shetewi 2018:9). Indeed, Lucas (2013:400) states that Classical Arabic and SA differ only in their phraseology and vocabulary and many scholars also agree with this view (e.g. Holes 2004, Ryding 2005, Al-Balushi 2016). Thus, the framework of diglossia had been continuously adopted and remained highly influential in the early variationist studies. Therefore, linguistic variation was viewed to be based on variants from SA and a speakers’ colloquial Arabic. For example, Abu-Melhim (1992:3) mentions that Classical Arabic is used only for reading the Quran and religious ceremonies and that, in everyday use, Arab speakers use linguistic forms from MSA and colloquial Arabic only.

However, this framework has been contested by Ibrahim (1986) who argues that speakers of Arabic not only make linguistic choices between SA and their colloquial Arabic variety, but also select variants emerging from different Arabic vernaculars.⁹ Thus, Al-Qenaie (2011:1) clarifies that the linguistic situation in Arab countries can instead be characterized as “multiglossic”, whereby different phonological, morphological and syntactic forms are supplied by the different colloquial varieties along with SA variants on the extreme end of a continuum. The multiglossic nature of the Arab communities can be observed vividly in urban centers since they host speakers of different regional dialects. For instance, Muscat is a host for migrants with different varieties of Omani Arabic as well as non-Omani Arabic (see 3.2.2). This indicates that individuals within this area have at their disposal linguistic variants that are supplied by SA and by all the regional varieties

⁹ See (4.2.1.) for further details on the effect of the framework of diglossia on interpreting language variation in Arabic in relation to gender.

present there. This entails that variation can occur towards variants from any of these colloquial varieties, which is more likely than the variation towards SA (see below).

Revising the linguistic situation within the Arab communities has resulted in a departure from viewing language variation in Arabic as parallel to that in Western communities. Most researchers now agree that the relationship between standard and colloquial varieties in the Arab world is not as straightforward as in many western communities where prestige is associated with the standard variety (e.g. Ibrahim 1986; Walters 1996; Al-Wer 1997). Within the multiglossic situation in the Arab communities, Classical Arabic and SA forms are not necessarily preferred by speakers; rather, social prestige is assigned to dialectal forms, as reported in several studies (e.g. Ibrahim 1986; Abdel-Jawad 1987; Al-Wer 2014). Holes (2011a:138) rightfully captures the current sociolinguistic state in Arabic by stating that:

“Modern Standard Arabic *is* a prestigious variety of Arabic, no one would deny that, but it does not carry the type of prestige that matters in everyday interaction between ordinary Arabs, whatever their level of education”.

Thus, it becomes clear that the first step towards understanding the effect of dialect contact in Arab communities is to refer to the social position of the Arabic vernaculars to uncover their assignment of prestige.

2.4.2 Arabic dialects and prestige

Understanding the role of the Arabic dialects and their social evaluations requires referring to their development and typology. There are different views on the origins of the Arabic dialects. On the one hand, Miller (2007:4-5) reports that the Arabic vernaculars are *Koiné*. A koiné is defined as a variety comprising “features of several regional varieties, although it was based primarily on one of them. However, it was reduced and simplified in comparison” (Siegel 1985:358). Recognizing Arabic dialects as types of koiné is a way to capture their connection to the highly esteemed variety of Classical Arabic and thus awards these dialects the prestige and respect associated with Islam and the old Arab culture (see 2.4.1). Referring to Donner (1981), Palva (1982) and Versteegh (1997), Miller (2004:4-5) clarifies that the koineization of Arabic vernaculars is a direct result of contact between the Arabs and the non-Arab populations because of the Arab-Muslim conquest during the 7th and 8th centuries AD and the consecutive waves of settlement in the Arabian zone.

However, some scholars contest this view and consider modern-day dialects as decedents of older Arabic vernaculars, which are affected by the contact induced by the Islamic conquest. For instance, Holes (2011a:143) writes that:

“The direct ancestors of the modern Arabic dialects are the tribal dialects which, as we know from... early grammarians, were spoken in Arabia well before Sībawayh was born and which differed from place to place. They were exported at the time of the Islamic conquests and then became subject to the same ineluctable forces of change as any other variety of human language. The idea that the dialects, ancient or modern, are descended from Classical Arabic is a piece of cultural and religious dogma, and does not stand up to serious scientific scrutiny.”

Undeniably, the view that all present-day Arabic dialects descend from Classical Arabic can be refuted easily by evidence confirming that different Arabic varieties existed before Islam and Quranic Classical Arabic (Corriente 1975, 1976). For example, Corriente (1975:38-42) mentions that Old Arabic existed before Islam and there are documented differences between Old Eastern Arabic and Old Western Arabic. He mentions that these differences emphasize the contrast between the dialects spoken in the areas of Najd and Hijaz. Likewise, Shafi’-Addin (2007:77) clarifies that the isolation between the Arab tribes during the pre-Islamic times resulted in differences between the dialects of those tribes. These reports highlight that the dissimilarities between modern-day Arabic dialects can be related to the previously existing differences between pre-Islamic Arabic dialects. Thus, this variation can be understood to be carried out in the post-Islamic period until the present-day. Therefore, the variation between Arabic dialects is necessarily not due to the contact during the Islamic-conquest era. Most importantly, the prestige awarded to any of the modern Arabic dialects is not linked directly to the prestige of the Classical Arabic or the Islamic and old Arabic cultures.

Despite the different views on how the Arabic dialects developed, scholars agree that these dialects are “associated with different social structures, employment patterns and even different cultures” (Holes 2011a:132). Miller (2007:4-5) further explains that the dialects of Arabic are classified typologically as Bedouin and Sedentary. Both types of dialects have features that set them apart from each other (Versteegh 2001:148). The Bedouin dialects reflect a nomadic lifestyle and they are the main vernacular of the Arabian Peninsula (Miller 2007:4-5). Figure 2.1 illustrates the area in which Arabic is spoken and marks the countries of the Arabian Peninsula.



Figure 2.1: countries of the Arabian Peninsula (Adapted from University College 2016)

The Sedentary (*ḥaḍʿari*) dialects that reflect the lifestyle of settled populations are divided into urban (*madani*); in other words, those in big economic and cultural cities and rural (*ri:fī/ qarawi/ fella:hi:*), that is, those working mainly on agriculture and craftsmanship (Miller 2007:4-5). Those topological distinctions are certainly present in Oman (Holes 2013; Al-Balushi 2016) and play a central role in the variation and dialect change in this study, as will be detailed in CHAPTER 3 (see 3.1.3 and 2.3.a.6a.3.3.2.2 for further details).

These differences between the Arabic dialects echo distinctions between the speakers' genealogy, geographic descent, lifestyle and even sectarian and national affiliations (Miller 2007; Holes 2011a). Such associations are sources of pride to the Arab populations; thereby leading to correlating prestige with some dialects more than others, such as those of esteemed places, descents, jobs etc. In Oman for example, the Muscat dialect is associated with urbanity and it is esteemed for being the variety spoken in the most modern center of Oman (Al-Balushi 2016; also see 2.3.a.6a.3.3.2.2). Thus, Omanis using this dialect reflect an urban lifestyle and modernity.

The effect of speakers' traits on the social evaluation of dialects became apparent after the second-half of the twentieth century. The socioeconomic changes within the Arab communities (e.g. the beginning of the oil industry and the Palestinian refugee crisis) have led to the emergence of urban centers, which are typically capital cities. The development of these urban areas was accompanied by the growth of population and migration into those centers, which resulted in a change in lifestyle

from agricultural to industrial patterns (Holes 1995; 2011a, Miller 2007). Miller (2007:8-9) reports on the development of informal and unplanned settlements in some urban cities (e.g. Shi'i settlements in Eastern Beirut and the settlements of migrants from Upper Egypt in the suburbs of Cairo). Miller (2007:8-9) states that such settlements are socially stigmatized, which results in linguistic stigmatization of the inhabitants' vernaculars. Simultaneously, the dialects of the socially and economically dominant groups in those urban cities are accorded prestige and usually "the dialects of the large capital cities of the Arab world... carry this so-called 'covert' prestige"¹⁰ (Holes 2011a:138; also see Chambers and Trudgill 1980; Eckert 1988). Thus, the populations of those urban communities would begin to accommodate to the speech of the prestigious groups and minimize their use of the stigmatized varieties; essentially resulting in dialect convergence and divergence. The next section refers to some studies on dialect contact in some Arabic communities with more attention to the varieties of the Arab Gulf area.

2.4.3 Dialect contact studies in Arabic

Jordan is one of the early and most highly-investigated communities since it has witnessed an influx of population following the Arab-Israel war in 1948, resulting in Palestinians seeking refuge (e.g. Abdel-Jawad 1981; 1983; 1986, Al-Khatib 1988, Al-Wer 1991, Al-Tamimi 2001). Abdel-Jawad (1987) analyzes the speech of such Palestinians in Nablus in the West Bank of Jordan to examine their use of the variable (Q). In this community, this variable has four reflexes that reflect differences in ethnic descent as seen in Table 2.1.

Variants	Ehnic descent
[q]	Nablus locals (it is also the SA form)
[k]	Rural Palestinians
[g]	Bedouin and rural Jordanians
[ʔ]	Urban Palestinians

Table 2.1: the variants of the variable (Q) in Nablus

Abdel-Jawad compares the speech of 24 Nablusi speakers. Fifteen of the participants reside in Nablus and nine have moved out of the city and had contact with speakers of the non-Nablus variants. He reports a divergence from Nablus dialect as the migrant speakers accommodate to the

¹⁰ Covert prestige refers to the hidden value attached to non-standard forms (Trudgill 1972).

use of the urban feature [ʔ], which is also adopted by the females in Nablus. Moreover, he discovers that women consistently maintained a lower use of the variant [q] than males, and that older males are the most conservative. This study reveals that dialect convergence in Arabic occurs towards colloquial Arabic rather than SA. Furthermore, the dynamics of convergence reflect findings reported in western communities, whereby women and younger speakers are more advanced at adopting incoming variants (Labov 2001; Schilling-Estes 2002, 2005; Smith and Holmes-Elliott 2017).

In the Arab Gulf area, the sociolinguistic situation in Manamah in Bahrain is widely investigated (e.g. Al-Tajir 1982, Holes 1986; 1995). For example, Holes (1995:271-272) reports on the urbanization and industrialization of Manamah, which prompted the growth of its population and triggered increased literacy. Holes (1995) reports on a sectarian division in the community, which instigated dialectal differences between the Arabs who are Sunni and the Baharnas who are Shi'a. The Arabs are reported to originate from the Najd tribe and their dialect is described as an offshoot of Najdi Arabic. Conversely, the Baharnas are proud of being the land's original inhabitants. Despite the Sunni Arabs being a minority, they are the socially dominant group since the ruling family belongs to them. The investigation focuses on seven distinguishing markers between those dialects (see Table 2.2).

The Variable	Arabs' variant	Baharnas' variant	intercommunal dialect
(Q)	[g] or [dʒ] before a vowel	[k]	[g]
(k)	[k] or [tʃ] before a vowel	[tʃ]	[k]
(θ)	[θ]	[f]	[θ]
(ð)	[ð]	[d]	[ð]
(ð ^ʕ)	[ð ^ʕ]	[d ^ʕ]	[ð ^ʕ]
(d ^ʕ)	[ð ^ʕ]	[d ^ʕ]	[d ^ʕ]
(dʒ)	[j]	[dʒ] or [g]	[j] (or [tʃ])

Table 2.2: the variables and their realizations by uneducated Arabs and Baharnas in Bahrain (Adapted from Holes 1995:274)

Interestingly, Holes (1995) discovers that young educated Arabs and Baharnas alike accommodate to each other. Speakers from both sects converge to some of their original dialectal norms, but also diverge from other forms of their vernaculars. The result is a new 'intercommunal urban dialect',

which contains the variants presented in Table 2.2. Clearly, the situation in this community reflects the fact that dialect convergence takes place in the direction of the norms of the socially-esteemed group since most accommodation is performed by the Baharnas, who have adopted the Arabs' variants for most of the variables (namely (Q), (K), (θ), (ð), (ð^s) and (dʒ)). The dominant group of Arabs accommodates with respect to the variable (d^s), but not towards the Baharnas' variant, rather it is towards variants comparable to SA, which entails that this change can actually be attributed to literacy. Nonetheless, the overall patterns of dialect convergence and divergence in Manama stress that prestige is not associated with SA norms, but with the norms of the new urban koiné. This finding also echoes Miller's (2004:180) statement that "[i]n case of inter-dialectal contact within the city, the levelling/koineization process is not systematically, and at all linguistic levels, in favor of the pre-existing urban dialect", and that a new dialect may be preferred over an existing one.

In Saudi Arabia, Al-Essa (2008) investigates the contact between the Najdi dialect and the urban Jeddah Hijazi dialect as a result of the immigration of Najdi speakers to Jeddah. There are conspicuous social differences between the two communities as the Najdis lead a conservative lifestyle compared with Jeddah's cosmopolitan culture. Interviews are conducted with 61 Najdi speakers with reference to their gender, age and level of contact. Al-Essa examines the Najdis' use of a distinctive Najdi Arabic feature, which is the affrication of /k/ and /g/ in the vicinity of front vowels to be realized as [ts] and [dz] respectively. The affrication of /k/ can occur in the stem level or it can target the /k/ of the second-person feminine singular suffix /-ik/. The results reveal a divergence from the affrication of stem /k/ and /g/ and that differences in speakers' age and gender did not lead to significant differences in their use of the variants. However, Al-Essa reports that the use of the local affricated variant [ts] in the stem is restricted to Najdis who have limited contact with Hijazi speakers. As for the affrication of /k/ of the suffix /-ik/, she finds this suffix is affricated more than the stem /k/ due to the complex nature of the Hijazi variant, which surfaces as [-ik] in post-consonantal positions and as [-ki] in post-vocalic positions. However, the participants still converge to the Hijazi variant [-ik], which is steadily increasing among females, all age groups and speakers with high contact with Hijazis.

The above study has the advantage of employing a systematic method to assess speakers' level of contact and exposure to the D2 features, which is based on the Milroys' (1978) model of social networks (see 2.5.1 for details on the social network model). Moreover, it presents new findings from Arabic regarding the effect of rule complexity in slowing the accommodation towards D2. Particularly, it demonstrates that morpho-phonological differences have contributed to the success

on the de-affrication of the stem /k/, but have restricted the acquisition of the Hijazi Arabic variants for the /-ik/ suffix. Such findings indicate that social network and rule complexity might well also affect Nizwa migrants' dialect convergence and divergence patterns. Hence, these issues will be referred to when interpreting the change in ND (see 8.1.1 and 8.2.2).

Kuwaiti Arabic is scrutinized by Taqi (2010) who investigates the variation in the dialects of forty-eight Kuwaitis who belong to two ethnic groups. These are the Najdi Kuwaitis who descend from the Arabs of Najd and the Ajami Kuwaitis whose roots are in Iran. She examines their use of the variables (dʒ), (s) and (ɣ) (see Table 2.3).

The Variable	Najdi variant	Ajami variant
(dʒ)	[j]	[dʒ]
(s) in the environment of emphasis spread	[s]	[sʕ]
(ɣ)	[q]	[ɣ]

Table 2.3: the variables and their realizations by Najdi and Ajami Kuwaitis

Taqi also looks at the effect of gender and age. Unlike the above-cited studies, she does not rely solely on the interview method to elicit data. Rather, she adopts new methods such as naming pictures, map-tasks and questionnaires designed to uncover the participants' attitudes to the two dialects. She reports that for the variables (dʒ) and (s), the Najdis' converge to their local dialect while the Ajamis diverge from their local linguistic norms. The Ajamis' convergence towards the Najdis' form of (dʒ) is associated with women and speakers of middle-age and young-age groups. Conversely, the convergence towards the Najdi variant of (s) is led by males and young speakers. Ajami and Najdi Kuwaitis have opposite trends for the use of (ɣ) as young Ajamis, particularly females, accommodate to the Najdi form [q] while the Najdi males shift towards the variant [ɣ], which corresponds to the SA form.

Taqi concludes that Ajamis' convergence to the Najdi dialect is attributed to the social status of Najdis, who are the founders of Kuwait; thereby according prestige to the Najdis' dialect. Simultaneously, the divergence from the Ajami dialect is a mechanism for avoiding the unfavorable social association to the non-Kuwaiti descent. Moreover, Taqi demonstrates that the Najdi males avoid their local variant [q] of the (ɣ) variable and explains that this trend is attributed to their view

that this variant is a female feature. In contrast, the Najdi females continue using their local [q] as a marker for their Kuwaiti identity.

Taqi's study reveals that the dynamics of the variation within the Kuwaiti community are not entirely comparable with those found in western communities with respect to the effect of gender (Labov 2001). While young Kuwaitis are found to be the leaders of linguistic change, male-led change is attested in the Kuwaiti community. This is a very interesting finding since it provides validation that the effect of gender on language use can differ between communities and variables. Subsequently, this necessitates examining the potential effect of gender on the use of the different linguistic variables to be examined in the speech of the Nizwa migrants (see CHAPTER 4 and CHAPTER 5). Furthermore, Taqi's study shows that the questionnaire method is a valid technique for uncovering speakers' attitudes and interpretations of linguistic forms, which helps with understanding the trends found within the community. Thus, speakers' attitudes, beliefs and identity representation will also be referred to in the current study to interpret their role in the change of ND (see 8.2.3). Additionally, similar methods (picture-task, map-task) will also be employed to elicit data from migrants speaking ND.

Finally, the above review, along with further existing research (e.g. Azhari 2007; Habib 2010; Hennessey 2011; Alghamdi 2014; Albader 2015; Albalawi 2015; Al-Qahtani 2015; Yaseen 2015, 2018), indicate that each community has its own prestigious vernacular and the prestige dialect differs from one area to another. Therefore, thorough scrutiny of the community under investigation is a prerequisite for understanding the patterns of variation. The literature provided throughout this chapter has also indicated that dialect change is interpreted by adopting a micro-sociolinguistic approach that scrutinizes speakers' social networks, beliefs systems and identity representations. A brief review of these notions is offered below.

2.5 Understanding dialect change: a micro-sociolinguistic view

In her review of dialect contact research in different speech communities, Milroy (2002:4) asserts that the findings of this type of research present recurrent themes. First, transitional migration, mobility and urbanization lead to change at various levels of the grammar. Second, the outcome of dialect contact and SDA is constrained by differing levels of "input from community networks". Third, language attitudes and ideologies impact the outcomes of dialect contact "as a consequence of the activities of speakers in constructing linguistic distinctiveness from a contrasting other

group”. Such observations have indeed been verified in the literature presented in (2.3) and (2.4.3). Further details on the influence of social networks, ideology and identity representation are given in the following sections.

2.5.1 Social networks

The term social network refers to the “social relationships in which everyone is embedded” (Milroy 1980:46). There is wide consensus that social networks are central to language use (Sharma 2017:393). Milroy (2006:549), for example, states that “network-oriented accounts of linguistic change have emerged both in variationist studies of contemporary speech communities, and as post hoc sociohistorical studies of changes completed at earlier stages of language”.

The effect of social networks on language variation has been recognized since Labov’s Martha’s Vineyard study (1963) (Meyerhoff 2006:185). Labov’s investigation of the use of the diphthongs /ay/ and /aw/, which are centralized in the local dialect of the island, revealed that there was a shift towards the lowering of the first part of the diphthong. This shift is understood to be triggered by the influence of the mainland incursion which gave the islanders access to the lowered variant of the diphthongs. However, a high use of the centralized diphthongs was observed amongst the Chilmark fishermen and the Menemsha Native Americans as those communities were characterized by self-contained networks (Meyerhoff 2006:185). Nevertheless, the first systematic investigation of the effect of social networks on language use is Milroy and Milroy’s (1978) study in Belfast, Northern Ireland. The Milroys examined the speech of 46 speakers belonging to three working-class, inner-city communities- Ballymacarrett, the Hammer and Clonard. They observed their use of eight phonological variables which have variants that represent Belfast urban community speech (Milroy 2006). They analyzed the network structure of the participants by referring to their links with other people (e.g. as relatives, neighbors, workmates or friends) and their contact patterns within the neighborhood, workplace, leisure activities etc. They observed that the language change in this community correlated in very informative ways with the types of relationship that comprised speakers’ social networks (Meyerhoff 2006:185). For example, they found that men had stronger ties to the local community than women; thus, men presented higher rates of vernacular use than women (Milroy 2006:553-555). The Milroys; therefore, argued “that social networks are at least as important as macro-social categories... for understanding how changes take hold and spread across a community” (Meyerhoff 2006:185). The social network

model has also been influential in studies of adolescent speech by Cheshire (1982), Eckert (2000) and Fox (2007) as well as in Al-Essa's (2008) analysis of dialect change in Saudi Arabia (see 2.4.3).

Many studies point out some general mechanisms for the effect of networks on language change (e.g. Milroy and Milroy 1978; Milroy and Milroy 1985). For example, Meyerhoff (2006:184-185) clarifies that social networks help reveal how speakers are grouped together using idiosyncratic factors. The model analyzes who are a speaker's friends, neighbors, co-workers etc. She (2006:184-185) argues that:

"It is very important for sociolinguists to have a sense of what the patterns of associations are between people who are friends or roughly social equals within a community. This is because the diffusion of linguistic change happens relatively fast and very efficiently along what we might call horizontal channels (e.g., within one age group and a social cohort). What we might call vertical channels (e.g., channels between generations or across big social divides) are a comparatively slow and inefficient means of transmitting innovation".

Milroy and Milroy (1985:380) also explain that:

"[I]nnovations are normally transmitted from one group to another by persons who have weak ties.... Further, at the macro-level, it is suggested that in situations of mobility or social instability, where the proportion of weak links in a community is consequently high, linguistic change is likely to be rapid".

It is thus clear that in inter-dialectal contact contexts, speakers have varying levels of contact with individuals using the local and supralocal norms. Such differences result in different rates of exposure to the variants and thus speakers will present different patterns for using local and innovative linguistic features. As such, it is expected in this study that Nizwa migrants with strong local ties will present high usage rates of local norms while those with weak local ties will converge to linguistic forms used by speakers of other dialects (Milroy and Milroy 1985:380).

2.5.2 Ideology

Interpreting the linguistic practices within minority groups in a community requires understanding the local social views and language ideologies (Gao 2017:5). According to Woolard and Schieffelin (1994:72):

“The topic of language ideology is a much-needed bridge between linguistic and social theory, because it relates the microculture of communicative action to... considerations of power and social inequality, confronting macrosocial constraints on language behavior... It is also a potential means of deepening a sometimes superficial understanding of linguistic form and its... variability”.

Such views intensify the importance of this micro-sociolinguistic aspect in speakers’ lives and its effect on linguistic variability. Silverstein (1979:193) defines a language ideology as “any set of beliefs about language articulated by the users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use”. Irvine (1989:255) also clarifies that an ideology represents “the cultural systems of ideas about social and linguistic relationships, together with their loading moral ... interests”. Furthermore, Woolard (1992:235-236), quoting Silverstein 1987, explains that speakers include their cultural conceptions and views in language and language variation. It can thus be understood that the linguistic practices of individuals mirror their social beliefs and experiences and reflect social meanings.

The role of ideology on language variation has been acknowledged in Labov’s (1963) Martha’s Vineyard study (see 2.5.1). In Martha’s Vineyard, the linguistic variation in the use of the diphthongs was “an ideological package created by the local struggle over mainland incursion” (Eckert 2003:41). As Eckert (2003) clarifies, the changes in the economy and social life on the island divided its population into those who welcomed mainland incursion and those who saw it as a threat to local control. Eckert (2003:41) explains that this division was a central ideological struggle which was in fact about how islanders wanted to situate themselves in relation to the mainland. Linguistic variation had thus “been appropriated as a symbolic resource in this struggle” whereby the lowering of the diphthongs /ay/ and /aw/ comparable to the mainland’s use was a reflection for a mainland orientation. On the other hand, centralization of the diphthongs’ nucleus reflected resistance to the mainland and engagement in the local fishing community. This indicates that speakers’ beliefs and perceptions of the social and geographical space can affect their linguistic behavior and that “language difference can be called into service in the construction of social distinctions” (Eckert 2003:41).

Furthermore, Milroy (2004:166) also mentions the fact that ideologies are part of individuals’ everyday social lives. They not only help with inferring the social significance of language use, but also define which social groups are prominent in a given community. In fact, Piller (2015:4-5) clarifies that it is common across societies to have an ideology of a standard language whereby a

language variety is considered to be a standard norm. Thus, this variety is considered to be “aesthetically, morally, and intellectually superior to other ways of speaking the language” and speakers of this variety are viewed to be superiors. This linguistic division could potentially lead to negative attitudes toward non-speakers of the standard variety thereby causing social inequality. Piller refers to the situation in the US as an example. Standard American English is considered as a norm and medium of communication in education, courts, media etc. Those who speak other varieties, like African American English, Southern English or Spanish, are viewed to be unintelligent, lazy and inappropriate for employment in those sectors.

As such, understanding the dominant ideology in a society or within individuals is a necessity for uncovering which social groups or notions are esteemed in the society and for understanding the linguistic behavior and language variation. This will certainly be an important issue for this dissertation especially since studies on migration, dialect contact and linguistic change have shown that ideology is a key factor in triggering dialect/language accommodation or maintenance (e.g. Omdal 1994; Lanehart 1999; Anderson 2008; Taqi 2010).

2.5.3 Identity

Referring to the Budach and de Saint-Georges’ (2017:64) quotation given in (1.1.2), it can be understood that a speaker’s identity is an important factor for a sociolinguistic theory that considers contemporary communities which are characterized by superdiversity. Indeed, social identity is regarded as a key principle for CAT (Holmes and Meyerhoff 1999:178) which is the main motivation for dialect change (see 2.22.02.2.2).

Research on the influence of identity is based on Tajfel and Turner’s (1979) social identity theory which proposes that “people tend to classify themselves and others into various social categories, such as organizational membership, religious affiliation, gender, and age cohort” (Ashforth and Mael 1989:20). Such classification is accredited as a means for ordering the social environment and defining others. Additionally, it allows individuals to locate themselves in the social environment (Ashforth and Mael 1989:20-21). This model helps with understanding the unstable and changing linguistic behavior of individuals. It explains that speakers form ideas about how people around them are grouped (e.g. male vs. female, young vs. old, local vs. urban etc.) and they use linguistic resources to affiliate or distance themselves from those groups.

However, modelling identity in variationist sociolinguistics has been challenging, mainly because of the issue of agency (Mendoza-Denton 2006:477). Mendoza-Denton (2006:477) explains that researchers (e.g. Le Page and Tabouret-Keller 1985; Cameron 1990) argue that analysts may provide an identity-based explanation for the variation based on “a statistically motivated observation-cum-speculative-description that does not rely on any principled social theory” (Mendoza-Denton 2006:477). In other words, there is a risk of researchers utilizing the model of identity based on their own assumptions rather than evidence from the data. Nevertheless, Mendoza-Denton (2006:478) clarifies that variationist sociolinguistics could still investigate the role of identity in linguistic variation by employing methods proposed by Schegloff (1997) and reinforced by Potter (2000) which suggest that:

“[T]he analyst look to participants’ own explicitly signalled orientations and formulations, and their relevance in the sequencing of interaction. That is, they exhort us to look to situated practices rather than analysts’ formal categories for explication” (Mendoza-Denton 2006:478).

This suggests that inferences on the role of identity in shaping speakers’ linguistic choices ought to be based on a holistic view of the participants and their overall behavior, linguistic and otherwise. Bucholtz and Hall (2004:371) also stress that such ethnographic approach needs to be adopted in order to attend to speakers’ understanding of their identities. Indeed, such approach is intimately woven into the model of the social psychology of language (see 2.22.02.2.1) and can yield valid and reliable conclusions about the linguistic variation and its meaning in terms of identity representation.

Social identity will be a key factor in this study as research shows that contexts of heterogeneity, like that found in Muscat,¹¹ are environments in which the most vigorous identity formation occurs (Bucholtz and Hall 2004:371). For example, research shows that ethnic identity mostly emerges in contact situations (e.g. Fought 1999; Fix 2013; Wong and Hall-Lew 2014). Ivars (1994), for instance, reports on the case of Finnish migrants who originate from the rural area of Närpes and have settled in Eskilstuna, an industrial district in Sweden. Those migrants speak the Närpes variety of Swedish which is markedly distinct from Standard Swedish and from the Eskilstuna dialect which is regarded the “generally accepted norm for spoken Standard Swedish” (Ivars 1994:206). Ivars looks at the migrants’ use of a wide range of phonological and morphological variables that

¹¹ See CHAPTER 3.

have variants which are exclusive to each of the varieties which the migrants have access to in Eskilstuna (i.e. Närpes dialect, Eskilstuna dialect, Standard Swedish). She reports on the retention of the local Närpes dialect features by older speakers while younger migrants favor the esteemed Eskilstuna features. However, Ivars (1994:221) also mentions that despite the migrants' desire to assimilate in Sweden, they are faced with an identity crisis which "leads to increased consciousness of their own special characteristics". The migrants' desire for assimilation hence motivates their linguistic shifts to Eskilstuna norms in cross-dialectal situations. However, communication with Närpes speakers (e.g. in family, small Närpes gathering, festivals organized by the Finland Swedish Association and when visiting Närpes) are dominated by the local Närpes dialect only which emphasizes speakers' maintenance of their ethnic identity.

Nevertheless, it is not only the ethnic identity which could emerge in contact situations. Budach and de Saint-Georges' (2017) quote in (1.1.2) confirms that identities are hybrid and changing which indicates that speakers may project different sides of their identities in different communicative events. Trudgill (2006:473) also writes that identity is "the negotiation of a speaker's relationships with the social groups to which they belong" and such relationships are variable, changing and complex. Such notions imply that identity is multi-layered and unstable in disparate speech contexts. Thus, it is inferred that in inter-dialectal contact situations speakers may choose to project different strata of their identities (e.g. masculinity vs. femininity, young vs. old, literate vs. illiterate, middle vs. lower socioeconomic class etc.).

It is also important to note that identity formation can have different mechanisms. Bucholtz and Hall (2004:371) clarify that speakers are capable of undertaking social grouping not only by showing similarity to groups they want to identify with, but also by inventing similarity through downplaying differences. This notion of inventing similarity emphasizes the importance of identity for the field of the sociolinguistics of migration. It nicely ties with Meissner's (2015) aforementioned statement that superdiversity allows for observing patterns that only emerge within migrant groups (see 1.1.2) which suggests that the identities of the migrants are affected by their geographical relocation and new social experiences. Therefore, identity presentation will be an issue that will be explored when analyzing the variation in the speech of the Nizwa migrants.

2.6 Conclusion

This chapter has reviewed the issue of dialect contact resulting from migration and its role in leading to dialect convergence or divergence; namely, dialect change. It demonstrated that dialect change is best approached by incorporating the fields of dialectology and macro and micro-sociolinguistics. Furthermore, it has presented that dialect change is motivated by speakers' desire to minimize differences and it typically occurs by adopting features from a variety that is accorded social prestige. However, the assignment of prestige differs in western and Arab communities since SA is not the spoken variety in the Arab world. The review of dialect change studies from different communities reveals that understanding which variety is prestigious requires an understanding of the community and its speakers. To fulfil this task for this study, the next chapter elaborates on its context; that is, Oman and the Muscat and Nizwa communities, respectively.

CHAPTER 3 The Context of the Study

3.0 Introduction

According to Labov (2006:5), “the language of individuals cannot be understood without knowledge of the community of which they are members”. Therefore, the first step in analyzing any ongoing linguistic change within a community is to understand it. This chapter describes the community under investigation. It first provides (in 3.1) a brief background about Oman, its location, history, modernization, demographic make-up and linguistic profile. In section (3.2), I describe Muscat’s social and linguistic profiles. Section (3.3) provides information about the city of Nizwa, its social outline, ND and its change. These sections will help the reader understand the role of migration in the Omani community in general, and in Muscat in particular. They will also provide insight into the Omani dialects, their social evaluations and the position of ND in relation to prestige. Section (3.4) concludes this chapter.

3.1 Oman

Situated in the southeast of the Arabian Peninsula, the Sultanate of Oman is bordered by Saudi Arabia to the west, the UAE to the north and the Republic of Yemen to the south-west (Sultanate of Oman Ministry of Information 2014), as illustrated in Figure 3.1.



Figure 3.1: map of Oman (From van Esch 2011:27)

Oman comprises 11 governorates/districts: Buraymi, Dhofar, Musandam, Muscat, the Dakhiliyah, the Dhahirah, the North Batinah, the South Batinah, the North Sharqiyah, the South Sharqiyah, and the Wusta (see Figure 3.1). Collectively, these governorates contain 61 wilayats/townships (Sultanate of Oman Ministry of Information 2014). The city of Muscat is the capital of Oman and the most populated area.

3.1.1 History and renaissance

Migration and immigration are intrinsic features of Oman's history. Oman has been inhabited since early times by Arab tribes (Azads and Najdis) who arrived from Yemen following the collapse of the Ma'rab dam in 532 AD. Its geographical location isolated it from its neighboring Arab countries since the desert rendered the UAE and Saudi Arabia inaccessible to Omanis. Hence, the sea was the main route to the outside world (Shabaan 1977:1-3).

Nicolini (2013:150) refers to the extensive Omani international trade relations, which were linked to Oman's maritime routes across the Indian Ocean to the coasts of India and South Africa. The Omanis' long-standing command of maritime affairs has also led to the establishment of the Omani empire in East Africa (Nicolini 2013:150). This began with the Europeans' territorial invasions throughout the area, which led to the fall of parts of the Omani coast to the Portuguese in 1508 (International Business Publications 2015:25). This invasion was ended during the seventeenth century by the Ya'ariba dynasty (1624-1743) who had great naval power and received assistance from Asian/Baluch troops (Nicolini 2013:150-151). The Ya'ariba continued their domination to the East African littorals with the help of these troops. However, Omanis were invaded again in the eighteenth century; this time, by the Persians. It was only with the guidance of Ahmad bin Sa'id Al-Bu Sa'idi that Omanis regained control of their land. Consequently, Ahmad bin Sa'id was elected as the new Imam/ruler of the country; thus, instigating the rule of the Al-Bu Sa'id dynasty. This dynasty continues to rule Oman today; however, the ruling system has changed from Imamate 'religious ruling' to Sultans; "a secular title having none of the religious associations of Imam". Moreover, the Al-Bu Sa'id dynasty moved the capital of Oman from the interior region of Rustaq to Muscat (Nicolini 2013:151).

The renaissance of Oman is fairly recent, and has strong links to the exploitation of oil in 1964 and the ascendance of Sultan Qaboos bin Sa'id to the throne in 1970 (De Bel-Air 2015). Previously, Oman was completely isolated from the outside world by Sayed Sa'id bin Taymour, who was reluctant to introduce economic reforms and modern technology to the country (Al-Ghafri 2002:28). Al-Ghafri (2002:28) notes that this attitude led to a delay in Oman's economic development and a lack of modern life services. For example, the country had only three junior schools, one American mission hospital and a short strip road in Muscat (Dutton 1999:1). Most Omanis lived in rural areas and education was provided by the *katateeb* '/kata:ti:b/', "which were community village schools run by ordinary citizens" (Al-Ghafri 2002:31).

After 1970, the sultanate soon initiated a modernization process supported by the high price of oil (De Bel-Air 2015:3-4). The modernization of Oman has reshaped the country and has triggered an urbanization process, which had progressed to cover 84% of the country by 2009 (Al-Gharibi 2014:23). According to De Bel-Air (2015:4):

“The Sultanate evolved from a country lacking in basic services and infrastructure to a modern state. The Human Development Report of 2010... [ranked] Oman as the fastest HDI [Human Development Index] mover globally over the past forty years”.

Sultan Qaboos also emphasized the role of education in the economic development process. Thus, schools have been built across the country and improving the literacy of adults who missed out on an education became the focus (Al-Khathuri 2004:300-302). Moreover, attention was paid to higher education institutions as different types of colleges and institutes are provided across the sultanate. The establishment of Sultan Qaboos University in Muscat in 1986 is regarded as the culmination of the efforts made to improve education in Oman. By 2008, the university was offering BA, MA and PhD degrees (Othman 2011:126-128).

3.1.2 Social structure

Oman's rich history and its recent economic development have played a significant role in shaping its demographic makeup. The trade relations with India and East Africa, along with the development of the Omani colonial empire in Africa, have led collectively to drawing migrants to the sultanate and causing Omanis to migrate elsewhere (De Bel-Air 2015:3-4). Therefore, the country's population comprises Omanis who are originally Arabs, Baluch, Ajam and Africans/Zanzibaris (see 3.2.1 for further details on these groups). Yet, the Omani Arabs are the major group while the Baluch, Ajam and Zanzibaris are the minority (Peterson 2004:32-33).

Furthermore, the country is a host for expatriates who are largely non-Arabs. Following the production of oil in the Gulf countries since 1970, the Arab Gulf region became the largest labor market, attracting immigrants from other Arab and non-Arab countries (Kapiszewski 2004:115). Undeniably, Oman has had its share of international migration like its Gulf neighbors. The urbanization of the sultanate resulted in a need for employing immigrants due to the shortage in local, well-educated and qualified workers. The projections of Oman's National Center for Statistics and Information reveal that, in 2016, the number of the expatriate workforce has

reached 1,747,000; thus, equating to 45% of the total population of the country. Furthermore, Shah (2004:91) clarifies that “the share of the Arab population in the Gulf started to decline while that of Asians increased”. Information from the National Center for Statistics and Information supports this as it clarifies that Asians dominate the number of expats, with Indians (totalling 669,822), Bangladeshis (totalling 590,170) and Pakistanis (totalling 220,112) being in the majority. Oman’s rich ethnic diversity is a differentiating factor between Oman and its Gulf neighbors (Ismail 2011:11) and it has influenced its linguistic repertoire.

3.1.3 Linguistic profile

Oman is a linguistically rich area. Besides Arabic, numerous other languages are spoken nationwide. As stated by Al-Balushi (2016:82):

“[S]ome Omanis speak a number of indigenous (modern South Arabian) languages like Mehri and Jibbāli/Šahri (each with several thousand speakers), as well as Hobyōt, Baṭhari and Harsūsi (each with a few hundred speakers). In addition, some Omanis speak non-indigenous languages including Baluchi (from Baluchistan), Fārsi/Persian, Šajmi, Kumzāri (from Iran), Zidjāli (from Pakistan), Kojki/Luwāti (from India), and Swahili (from East Africa)”.

Nevertheless, this dissertation focuses solely on Omani Arabic (OA). An early review of OA is made by Praetorius (1880) when he compared the morphophonology and lexicon of OA with other varieties of Arabic. A more detailed discussion of the phonology, morphology and syntax of Oman’s interior dialect of the Bani Kharus tribe (which has settled between Nizwa and Rustaq) was then conducted by Reinhardt (1894). However, both studies obtained data from Omanis who resided in the African island of Zanzibar, so they are not based on the (NORM)¹² criteria of traditional dialectological study. This means that the features documented in those studies could have been influenced by the contact the informants had with speakers of other dialects and other languages in Zanzibar. In 1889, Jayaker also produced his study of OA during his residency in Muscat as a surgeon. He provided vocabulary lists and description of the phonology and morphology of OA. However, this work is criticized for depending on orthography to describe the dialect instead of using phonetic representation; thereby leading to missing features, such as vowel quality (Shabaan 1977:20). Several modern linguistic studies that refer to OA have since appeared

¹² NORM: non-mobile older rural males (Schreier 2009:683).

with most extensive work conducted by Clive Holes (1989; 1996; 1998; 2004; 2008; 2011b; 2013; 2016). Further research includes Johnston (1967), Shabaan (1977), Ingham (1980), Glover (1988), Webster (1991), Eades (2009; 2011; 2012), Eades and Watson (2013), Al-Balushi (2016) and Davey (2016).

Omani dialects “have almost the same syntax... [yet] differences in terms of phonetics, phonology, and morphology are more noticeable” (Al-Balushi 2016:81). They vary across regional and social space from an internal perspective because of geographical, economic, social and lifestyle (nomad vs. settled) factors. In a recent review of Omani varieties of Arabic, Holes (2013) divides the dialects in Oman into ‘Bedouin, ‘Hadari, and mixed-dialects. The Bedouin dialects are used by people who were originally nomads; despite being settled at present. The Hadari dialects are used by sedentary people who have settled in mountains and valleys. Dialects with mixed Bedouin and Hadari features are found in coastal areas, ranging from the border with the UAE to Al-Batinah and Muscat (see Figure 3.1).

It is noteworthy that Oman’s geographical isolation from its neighbors has set it apart from them linguistically. The countries of the Arabian Gulf¹³ constitute the Gulf Cooperation Council and they are similar in terms of politics and economy. However, all states share a similar social and linguistic composition, with the exception of Oman. Indeed, in his review of the dialects of the Arabian Peninsula, Johnstone (1967:1-3) classifies Oman as having its own special regional dialect. Likewise, Holes (2013:87) states that Omani dialects differ from neighboring Gulf countries’ varieties and they share a set of morphological isoglosses that separate them from surrounding Gulf dialects. Al-Nabhani (2011:12-18) refers to Holes’ (1987; 1989; 2011a) remarks that, historically, Bedouins became the more powerful social group in almost all of the Gulf States. This afforded power to the Bedouin dialects and rendered them mainstream in those countries. However, the opposite is true in Oman, where power is linked to Hadaris and Hadari Omanis differ significantly from Bedouins in many respects ranging from their dress code to their lifestyles. Most Omanis speak Sedentary dialects, which may still differ from one another depending on where they are spoken. For example, the Sedentary dialect spoken in the city of Nizwa has some differences from the Sedentary dialect spoken in the capital Muscat, mainly because Muscat Arabic (MA) has been influenced by migration into the Governorate of Muscat (Holes 2008). Additionally, although both varieties are Sedentary, the MA is an urban variety while ND is a rural one. The following sections

¹³ Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, Kingdom of Bahrain, Qatar, Kuwait, United Arab Emirates and Sultanate of Oman.

refer to the two cities and provide information about their social and linguistic profiles that will become relevant in the ensuing analysis.

3.2 Muscat

Muscat (Figure 3.2) spans an area of 309,500 km² (Sultanate of Oman Ministry of Information 2014) and includes the wilayats of Al-Amirat, Al-Seeb, Bawshar, Muscat, Mutrah/Matrah, and Qurayyat (Sultanate of Oman Ministry of Tourism 2016a).



Figure 3.2: map of Muscat (Google Maps 2018)

Archaeological evidence reveals that Muscat was founded 900 years before Islam, and historians document that the area was originally inhabited by the Arab tribes from Yemen (Al Taie et al. 1999). Taie et al. (1999:132-133) mention that Muscat's strategic position and control of the trade routes to China, India and East Africa made it of interest to foreign powers, including the British,

Dutch and Portuguese. In 1793, Muscat was declared the capital of Oman, although it was a highly populated area even prior to this date.

3.2.1 Social profile: demographics and migration

Peterson (2004:34-36) mentions that many Omanis who descend from immigrants of non-Arab ethnicities tend to be concentrated in the Muscat region, specifically the town of Matrah, due to their commercial position. For example, the Baluch who comprise 12% of Omanis, originate from Makran in Pakistan and some are from Iran. They are found primarily in the Baluch Quarter of Matrah and they serve as soldiers, sailors, servants and small shop traders. However, some are wealthy merchants, while others became government ministers. Other ethnicities include the Lawatiya, and Ajams. The Lawatiya occupy Sur al-Lawatiya in Matrah and are mostly merchants and businessmen. The Ajams hail originally from Iran and also reside in Matrah. The final minority group is the Zanzibaris, comprising descendants of Omanis who were married to African women in Zanzibar or those born to Omani parents living in Zanzibar. The Zanzibaris in Muscat have benefitted from being 'Omani locals' with education and knowledge of English, so they assume jobs in the Ministry of Defence, Petroleum Development of Oman, Internal Security Service and the Intelligence Agency (Peterson 2004:45-47).

Besides hosting non-Arab Omanis, Muscat is also a destination for Omani Arabs from the sultanate's different regions. In Oman, there is an active Omanization policy, which has been promoted since the 1980s to diminish the dependence on foreign labor by substituting them with Omani nationals (Valeri 2005:1). Therefore, the expatriates are typically employed in the household sector and the private sector, while they are less involved in the governmental sector (Nair 2017). Thus, the Omanization policy has impacted on the employment patterns within the governmental/public sector as 80% of these jobs are occupied by Omanis as of the end of 2002 (Das and Gokhale 2009:9). This localization of the public sector coupled with "the growth of Muscat as a modern, capital conurbation, with its emphasis on government and quasi-government employment" (Peterson 2004:51) have resulted in massive waves of migration from rural areas and other cities in Oman. The urbanization of Muscat has led to "the increase in the mobility of populations that had previously been sedentary" (De Wenden 2016:19) as populations from rural and urban areas of Oman are now choosing to work and live in Muscat. Muscat now "holds more than one third of the population of Oman" (Al-Gharibi 2014:19-20). In 2016, the National Center

for Statistics and Information has clarified that the total number of Omanis is 2,460,506. The 2016 figures also reveal that more than half of Omanis (1,380,519) reside in Muscat, which is the second smallest governorate in Oman.

Furthermore, the development of Oman's educational system impacts directly on migration patterns from elsewhere in Oman to Muscat. In his study on internal migration, Al-Harthi (1992:22-24) states that it is mainly students and educated individuals who tend to move to Muscat, with the former comprising 63.8% of the total number of migrants. Moreover, he demonstrates that migrants who hold a university or college diploma compose 36.4% of his sample and a similar percentage represents those with a high school diploma. Migrants with lower educational levels are few (27%) as it is difficult for them to obtain well-paying jobs to support their life in Muscat. Such patterns are congruent with Al-Wer's (2002:42-43) report that in the Arab World, access to higher education requires speakers' migration to new areas. Indeed, one of the main reasons for migrating from Nizwa to Muscat is the enrolment in a university or college there (see 3.3.1).

Additionally, Al-Harthi (1992:17-22) finds that the migrants to Muscat are mostly married males who prefer to be accompanied by their families. Additionally, he reports that the migrants' ages range between less than 20 to 50 years and above, with the age group 20-30 being the highest in number (72%) followed by the age group 31-40 (18.6%). Moreover, Al-Harthi (1992:14) mentions that the highest numbers of migrants in Muscat are from Al-Sharqiyah, followed by Al-Dakhilyah and then Al-Batinah.

Thus, it appears that Muscat's social situation is complex due to its ethnic makeup; for instance, its inhabitants comprise Omanis who are Arab and non-Arab, and non-Omanis who are Arab and non-Arab. Most importantly for this study, Muscat has Omani Arabs with different social and linguistic backgrounds. Despite the ethnic distinctiveness between the Omanis, all members are equally "more or less woven into the social fabric of the country" and integrated as a single national community (Peterson 2004:33-50). However, the linguistic differences between the residents of Muscat create an ideal environment for language variation and dialect change.

3.2.2 Linguistic situation

The contact situation in Muscat has both language contact and dialect contact dimensions. Regarding the former, the non-Omani Asian immigrants bring with them their foreign languages (e.g. Hindi, Bengali). There are also the languages of the Omani minority groups (e.g. Baluchi, Swahili). Given that language contact is not the focus of this dissertation, there are only two points that I will make regarding the contact between the Omanis and the speakers of these languages. First, contact between the Omanis and non-Arab expatriates is carried out typically using English as a lingua franca or using what is known as Gulf Pidgin Arabic (e.g. Smart 1990; Hobrom 1996; Naess 2008; Almoaily 2012). Second, the Omani ethnic minorities speak their respective languages with other members of their communities, but tend to “conceal their community traditions... in order to “pass” as part of the mainstream” within the Arab mainstream (Peterson 2004:50). As part of their assimilation as members of the Omani community, those speakers use a range of OA (Al-Balushi 2016:82). Considering that Arabic is the country’s official and dominant language and “it is the... language in which all government and business transactions are conducted” (Ismail 2011:13), the use of Arabic over the regional languages is inevitable.

Conversely, the dialect contact situation is complicated. It is reasonable to conclude that the successive migrations from different parts of Oman to Muscat have resulted in contact between numerous speakers of distinct dialects; thereby rendering Muscat a dialect melting-pot of sorts. People with different ethnic and linguistic orientations; i.e. Bedouin, Sedentary and mixed features are in constant contact with each other and in this situation, dialect change is a likely outcome (see 2.1). Such a change in language use is undoubtedly a natural and inevitable linguistic process. This study focuses on the dialect change among Nizwa migrants. Thus, the following section provides brief information about Nizwa, ND and the issue of prestige and change in ND.

3.3 Nizwa

Nizwa is an old city that has been inhabited by Arabs since pre-Islamic times (Management of Nizwa Club 2001:17). For a long time, Nizwa was the political and cultural capital of Oman (Al Taei et al. 1999:276). It lies at the heart of the Dakhiyalh governorate and is 164 km from Muscat (see Figure 3.3). Located at the foot of Al-Jabal Al-Akhdar, “*the Green Mountain*”, Nizwa is full of rivers, orchards and palm trees. Its foliage and weather attracted scholars and holy men who claimed Nizwa as “the courtyard of Islam” (Sultanate of Oman Ministry of Tourism 2016b).



Figure 3.3: map of Nizwa (Google Maps 2018)

3.3.1 Social profile: migration patterns

Nizwa is a city of traditional industries, craftsmanship and trade. The city is described as a rural center (Al-Khathuri 2004:347) and a representation of history, culture, heritage and traditions (Nizwa College of Technology 2017). Indeed, the modernization of the city is designed to reflect Nizwa's historic and traditional place in the country.

Many of Nizwa's young people still practise their parents' and grandparents' traditional living methods as shopkeepers, goldsmiths and handicraftsmen. However, many people choose to migrate to Muscat to attend higher education institutions or obtain better jobs (Al-Rabdawi 2010:566). As mentioned in (3.2.1), these are shared motivations for the migration towards Muscat, especially among people from the Sharqiyah, the Dakhilyah and the Batinah governorates (Al-Harthi 1992:14). Regarding Nizwa, the city has only one technical college, one applied sciences college

and one private university. Hence, many people send their children to Muscat to receive higher education since there is more choice of institutions and specializations; particularly, the prestigious Sultan Qaboos University. After graduation, most people prefer to work in Muscat where more jobs are available in the governmental sector and high-profile private sector companies. Additionally, the jobs available in Nizwa are insufficient to support the current population of nearly 70,000 people. Al-Harthi (1992:33-34) states that rural areas lack the attractive job opportunities found in Muscat; thereby promoting the rate of migration to the capital. Furthermore, people find life in Muscat better since the public services are of higher quality (e.g. schools, hospitals etc.) than in the rural areas and they can avoid the strictly conservative traditions and norms of rural living (Al-Harthi 1992).

3.3.2 Linguistic profile

3.3.2.1 ND

The Nizwa dialect differs from the Bedouin types as well as the mixed dialects of Oman. There is no comprehensive documentation for the features of the dialect. However, a recent study describing the phonetic and phonological features of the dialect has been conducted by Hamid et al. (2008) although it provides only a broad description of its phonetic and syllable systems. Tables 3.1 and 3.2 are based on their study and provide the phonemic inventory of ND's consonants and vowels.¹⁴

¹⁴ Although Hamid et al. (2008) report on palatal variants for /k/ and /g/ in their data, such allophones are not registered in my data which only included the velary [k] and [g].

	Bilabial	Labiodental	Dental	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Pharyngeal	Glottal
plosive	b			t d	(c) (ɟ)	k g	q		ʔ
emphatic plosive				tʃ					
nasal	m			n					
fricative		f	θ ð	s z	ʃ		χ ʁ	ħ ʕ	h
emphatic fricative			ðʃ	sʃ					
trill				r					
lateral				l					
approximant	w				j				

Table 3.1: ND consonants (Adapted from Hamid et al. 2008:51)

	Vowel			
High	i	i:	u	u:
Mid		e:		o:
Low		a	a:	

Table 3.2: ND vowels (Adapted from Hamid et al. 2008:52)

3.3.2.2 ND: prestige and dialect change

The contact situation to which Nizwa migrants are exposed in Muscat is complex for several reasons. First, there are many differences in pronunciation as well as morphemic and syntactic structures between ND and other dialects, whether Bedouin, Sedentary or mixed, which raises the

level of the Nizwa migrants' awareness of their language. For example, many Nizwa migrants tend to avoid their local vocabulary and replace it with words from other dialects in Muscat. Indeed, the statement in (1) is a cliché used by most of the participants in this study.

(1) إحنأ ننتكلم بطريقة غير عن الناس مال المناطق الثانية (1)
 The-other the-areas of the-people from different in-a-way we-talk we
 “We speak differently from the people of other areas”

Second, the differences from the speakers of other dialects could potentially result in misunderstanding during inter-dialectal contact, although it is not very common. The misunderstanding is attributed primarily to lexical differences between Sedentary and Bedouin dialects. However, ND also contains some syntactic particles that are not very familiar to the speakers of other dialects. For example, the particle /mu:h/ ‘*what*’ of ND is not found in Bedouin and many Sedentary dialects. Thus, migrant speakers prefer to substitute it with the particle /ʔe:f/ since it is a common form of MA as well as Gulf varieties.¹⁵

A third source for the complexity of the contact situation in Muscat is that, like the speakers of other Sedentary dialects, Nizwa migrants “are specifically aware that their dialect lacks prestige and that it is mocked and stigmatized in the region” (Al-Nabhani 2011:17). The socio-political differences between Omanis and their neighbors of the Gulf Cooperation Council (see 3.1.3) project Omanis as outliers next to them. Al-Nabhani (2011:15) writes:

“By being part of the GCC [Gulf Cooperation Council], Omanis are constantly reminded that they are different, and that “different” is not favoured because the people of the Gulf constantly repeat their slogan ‘*Khaleejona wahid*’ or “Our Gulf is One” and when the differences are too many it is difficult to ignore them and claim that indeed they are “one””.

Such differences have subjected Omanis to jokes by their neighbors, who tend to target Oman’s Sedentary dialects. For example, Emirati and Kuwaiti cartoons containing characters from different Arab countries depict the Omani characters as wearing the sedentary groups’ dress code and using exaggerated dialectal forms of the Hadari dialect for comedy effect (Al-Nabhani 2011:17). This has led to controversy in online forums where many Omanis felt that such representations were

¹⁵ Also refer to (5.2.2.3) for a discussion on the misunderstanding that can arise from the use of the ND future marker.

meant to diminish the image of the Omanis and project them as local and less educated. It also provoked feelings of insecurity. According to Shabaan (1977:18):

“Omani speakers show free variation in their speech between native Omani forms and forms which seem to have been borrowed from other Arabic dialects, which can be interpreted as a manifestation of linguistic insecurity”.

The stigmatization of Oman’s Sedentary dialects has added to the complexity of the contact situation in Muscat. Therefore, many Hadari Omanis began modifying their speech by borrowing features from non-sedentary dialects (Al-Nabhani 2011; Holes 2011a). Indeed, Holes (2011a:134) reports on a homogenized version of the Bedouin dialect that is spreading across the Gulf States. Moreover, he notes that it is infiltrating among educated Omanis in Muscat.¹⁶ Holes (2011a) validates the spread of this dialect based on several factors that have gained prominence since the 1970s. First, the increased physical contact between the populations of the Gulf Cooperation Council. Mobility has become easy due to fast road connections from Muscat up to Kuwait and to the more frequent and affordable air connections. Second, education that allows younger generations to access other varieties of Arabic, since parents are less likely to oppose their children’s travel to the Gulf States to enrol in higher education than their travel to other countries. Third, employment patterns, as the Gulf States shifted from traditional jobs, like farming and fishing, to more industrial ones that allow young generations to work in white-collar jobs. Subsequently, this provides contact with regional and international workforces. Fourth, the media, since the spread of satellite channels grants young generations access to other dialects of Arabic, especially the Saudi and Kuwaiti varieties, since most Arab Gulf drama is based on those varieties. Indeed, mobility, urbanization and literacy have been revealed as influential factors for triggering linguistic change elsewhere (e.g. Al-Wer 1991; Holes 1995; Sandøy 1998; Hinskens et al. 2005; Kerswill 2006). Nonetheless, it is noteworthy that the media alone is not a trigger for language change; after all, individuals do not speak to the TV or to blogs. Even if they communicate verbally online, this contact is short and not constant. Herring (2003:1) states that media can be “a facilitator of language change” rather than a sole cause and many researchers concur with this view (e.g. Naro 1981; Williams and Kerswill 1999; Stuart-Smith et al. 2013).

¹⁶ See (8.2.1) and (8.4) for relevant findings from this study.

Ultimately, the undermining view of the Sedentary dialects and exposure to socially prestigious homogenized dialect features in Muscat collectively create an ideal environment for the Hadari migrants in Muscat, including Nizwa migrants, to have the propensity to change their socially stigmatized dialect markers. Thus, they take up features that are similar to those used by other Arab Gulf populations. For example, Holes (1989; 2011a) refers to the tendency to replace local features with GA features by the educated generations of Oman. As explained by Al-Nabhani (2011:16):

“Many Omanis often feel insecure about how they are different especially linguistically from the people of the Gulf. It is interesting to see that although the Bedouin dialect is not the dominant one in Oman, but nevertheless the dominant one in the region, many Omanis still feel peer pressured into speaking like their neighboring Gulf countries. After all, the Gulf dialect has more prestige and it is “de facto the socially dominant dialect””.

However, it should also be noted that the spread of the homogenized dialect in Oman is less rapid than in the other Gulf States (Al-Nabhani 2011:15). Indeed, MA remains a dominant dialect in the Muscat area. Therefore, it can lend itself to borrowing by the newcomers to Muscat (see 2.4.2). Al-Balushi (2016:83) clarifies that Muscat is perceived as the center of modern life in Oman. He mentions that, due to this view, Omani interior dialects change to conform to the coastal Sedentary dialect of Muscat, which is the variety of the majority in the capital area. Thus, the Nizwa migrants in Muscat may still borrow linguistic features from MA and not necessarily from the homogenized GA.

3.4 Conclusion

This chapter has introduced the context of this study. It has demonstrated that Oman’s history and renaissance have influenced the patterns of migration in the country and subsequently these have impacted upon its social characteristics and language ecology. The waves of internal migration towards Muscat have created a dialect contact situation. Thus, dialect change is a potential linguistic outcome for inter-dialectal contact in Muscat. In this context, social-esteem is linked to the capital area of Muscat and there is a stigmatization of the Hadari dialects across the Gulf States. This raises the question of whether the speakers of the Hadari dialect of Nizwa conform to their local linguistic norms or converge towards new dialectal features in Muscat as a result of social pressure.

The following chapter outlines the methodology adopted in this study to address this question.

CHAPTER 4 Methodology and Study Design

4.0 Introduction

This chapter introduces the design for this study concerning the criteria for selecting the participants, the linguistic variables and the methods used to produce the data. The chapter also highlights how data was processed regarding transcription and quantitative analysis. The chapter begins by detailing the pilot study in section (4.1), which was conducted primarily to verify whether the ND changes as its speakers migrate to the capital Muscat, and to reveal the nature of such changes. Section (4.2) refers to the sample of the current study and how the participants were recruited relative to the social factors of sex, age, AoA and LoR. Section (4.3) outlines the phonological, morphological and syntactic variables that were investigated. Data elicitation methods are presented in section (4.4) explaining precisely how casual and careful speech styles were elicited. Likewise, the transcription process and the statistical analysis of the data are described in section (4.5). A conclusion is provided in (4.6).

4.1 The pilot study

The pilot study was conducted from May to August 2016 with the objective of confirming whether a change can be detected in the ND, which factors can be associated with the changes, and the effectiveness of the selected methodology in yielding the target data. There were four target linguistic variables: (i.) H-dropping which entails variably deleting the /h/ in the production of the third-person feminine and masculine singular suffixes; (ii.) The second-person feminine singular suffix /-ik/ which can be variously realized as [-iʃ] in ND and [-ik] which is more typical of Bedouin dialects in Oman (Rosenhouse 2006: 263); (iii.) The future particle variable, which is a prefix that has a glottal stop variant in Nizwa Arabic [ʔa-] but a [ba-] variant in MA; (iv.) The realization of *yes/no* question clitics which is an idiosyncratic feature of ND whereby the clitic /-ə/ is attached to a word within a *yes/no* question to indicate interrogative contexts.

The pilot study compared the speech of eight participants (four males and four females) from Nizwa: four of whom were born and brought up there, and four had migrated to Muscat during their lifetimes. Several social variables were taken into consideration when selecting the informants. First, gender since Cheshire (2006:423) explains that “categorizing individuals into

“females” and “males” has long been standard practice in the social sciences”. She also confirms that it is a well-established practice in variationist research since the 1960s to refer to this factor. Second, the AoA to Muscat as it has been noted that the acquisition of new linguistic features is associated with the age of the onset of acquiring a new language/dialect. For example, Chambers (1992:687-688) demonstrates that younger Canadian children living in the UK have a higher rate of acquiring certain Southern English patterns than their older peers. Third, LoR in Muscat was also considered important. Payne (1980:154-156) reveals that while the AoA was important in the acquisition of the features of Philadelphia dialect by children with other native dialects, LoR also has a strong association.

The stylistic difference in data production was also considered. Casual speech style data was elicited by engaging the participants in a one-hour spontaneous conversation. Conversely, the careful style data was obtained by engaging the participants in picture and map tasks, which lasted between 10-15 minutes at the conclusion of each interview. Initially, the participants were nervous as they were unfamiliar with the type of interviews used in sociolinguistic research. However, the careful preparation of the interview schedule and the friendly delivery put participants at ease and allowed them to become more involved and talkative as we progressed through the schedule. In the picture task, participants were presented with pictures to name and events to describe. The objects featured in the pictures contained the linguistic variables under investigation. The map task involved a map with names of streets and buildings that were congruent to the Omani culture and contained the target variables. Participants described how I could move from a point A in the map to reach a destination B. While doing so, they had to use the second-person feminine singular suffix and the future prefix.

The results confirmed a variation between the varieties used by speakers residing in each of the two locations under study. Statistical analyses showed that Muscat variants were preferred over Nizwa variants among speakers residing in Muscat; however, neither gender nor speech style correlated with their preferences. Nevertheless, the younger the age of a speaker’s arrival and the longer they resided in Muscat, were statistically significant factors in determining the use of the non-local variant [-ik] of the second-person feminine singular morpheme. Conversely, these external factors did not influence the use of the future particle since the Muscat variants were frequent regardless of the AoA or LoR.

Thorough scrutiny of the variation in the use of H-dropping revealed that this was mainly a distinction between a SA use (presence of /h/) and dialectal use (/h/ dropping) rather than it being a change between two dialectal features. For example, Ismail (2009:249) clarifies that /h/ within pronominal suffixes can be dropped in some dialects, including the Levant in addition to Hijazi dialects of Saudi Arabia. However, “/h/ is invariably present in the pronominal suffixes” in SA. Therefore, I made the decision not to pursue this variable in the current study. Additionally, based on the data obtained in the pilot study, I observed some variation in the use of key vowels among the speakers in the sample. Hence, an in-depth investigation of this variation became a central focus of the current research (see 4.3.1 and CHAPTER 5 for further details). It should also be mentioned that although the current study only includes participants residing in Muscat, the observations and statistical analyses carried out during the pilot stage have been used to get an idea on the directions of the changes in the use of variables pursued in this dissertations (see 4.3.1).

Although the pilot study confirmed a difference in the use of variables of interest, the role of the social variables in determining variation did not seem to be as clear-cut as I expected. I would suggest that in large part this can be attributed to the small size of the sample. This was a pitfall that required careful attention to detail in this dissertation which was therefore designed to include a larger sample of speakers with additional subcategories for the social variables. Subsequently, this yielded greater insights into the extent to which the extra-linguistic variables noted above impacted upon the target linguistic variables.

Regarding the methodology, the pilot study revealed that the sociolinguistic interview and the map and picture tasks could be successfully used to elicit data on the prescribed phonological and morphological variables. However, the pilot also revealed that some aspects of the chosen methods were not as successful as I would have expected for obtaining good quality data. The *yes/no* question variable is a good case in point in this regard since none were generated during the sociolinguistic interview or the careful speech tasks. Thus, an acceptability judgement task was designed to obtain a greater understanding of the sociolinguistic dynamics of this variable. The judgement task is a technique used commonly in traditional generative syntactic studies (Sprouse and Almeida 2011:1). As Wilson and Henry (1998:8) confirm, combining the efforts of theoretical linguists and sociolinguists enables us to “better... understand language variation and change as they are driven by social factors”. Cornips and Corrigan (2005b:7) also assert that combining the two paradigms is required to analyze syntactic variation and change. Indeed, solely utilizing sociolinguistic tools was not successful in producing the target data on *yes/no* questions during the

pilot phase. The application of the judgement task, conversely, has led to obtaining such data (see 4.4.2.3 below).

Having highlighted the pilot stage of the current study, the following section explains the choice of the sample for this investigation.

4.2 The sample

The Nizwa district has many surrounding settlements, including the villages of Al-Jabal Al-Akhdhar, Burkat Al-Mooz, Farq, Karsha, Tanuf and Taymsa – all of which have dialectal features that differ slightly from the inhabitants of Nizwa city. Consequently, speakers from these outlying communities were excluded from this research and informants were recruited exclusively from areas within the confines of the city center; thereby ensuring all participants share identical dialectal features typical of Nizwa only.

It should be noted that participants were recruited using the “friend of a friend” method which Schilling-Estes (2007:179) describes as “one of the most helpful types of contacts” with a speech community. In this method, a researcher’s friendship with a member of the community is utilized to approach his friends; i.e. other members of the community. Indeed, this technique was very helpful to find participants. I started with people I knew and they each introduced me to their friends and acquaintances who welcomed their participation in the study. I visited employed participants in their workplaces or houses to record them. Student participants were interviewed on campus in a quiet office.

The study had a total of 38 participants who were selected based on the criteria outlined in the subsequent sections.

4.2.1 Sex/gender

Gender is a crucial factor in language variation as ample variationist research has revealed that men and women tend to make distinct linguistic choices (Cheshire 2006). Early variationist studies conducted by Labov (1972a) and Trudgill (1972) report that women adhere to prestigious linguistic forms more than men, and that women are the initiators of change. Subsequent research in languages worldwide reiterate these findings (e.g. Cheshire (1998) for English in the UK; Zhang

(2005) for Mandarin in Beijing; Sankoff and Blondeau (2007) for French in Canada; Shine (2013) for Spanish; Al-Wer (2014) for Arabic in the Middle East). Indeed, Labov (1990:205-206) provides principles of language variation and change in relation to sex based on shared tendencies across communities and languages. He states that:

“Most consistent results of sociolinguistic research in the speech community are the findings concerning the linguistic differentiation of men and women. These results can be summed up in two distinct principles.

- (I) In stable sociolinguistic stratification, men use a higher frequency of non-standard forms than women.
- (II) In the majority of linguistic changes, women use a higher frequency of the incoming forms than men.”

However, Wodak and Benke (1998:127) note that sociolinguistic studies demonstrate contradictory findings. While many existing studies associate standard language use with women, there are others that link standard forms and prestigious variants to middle-class men. They argue that a researcher’s “implicit assumptions about sex and gender, the methodology, the samples used, etc.” are key factors that affect how the variation is interpreted. A major issue that should be considered is how *prestige/standard* is defined and how can we be sure that what women (or even men) are using is *prestigious* or *standard*. The issue of prestige and standard vs non-standard tends to be taken for granted (Cheshire 2006:427), and this can indeed lead to confusion while interpreting women’s and men’s linguistic choices.

The effect of sex on language variation is undeniable. However, the way we interpret this effect can be problematic without a clear assessment of the social meaning of the variants in the community and for the speakers of each sex. One variant can index a social meaning for women, but a different one for men may index it. Therefore, it does not suffice to link a variant to a specific gender, and it is important to reveal which variant is the *standard*. The latter task, however, is “notoriously difficult” for a researcher to uncover objectively (Cheshire 2006:427) and therefore it could lead to misinterpreting the variation.

Such paradoxical findings have been reported for the effect of sex on language variation in the Arab world as a consequence of the incorrect definition of prestige. With early variationist studies confirming that men have a higher use of “prestigious” SA forms than women do (e.g. Sallam 1980; Abdel-Jawad 1981), subsequent studies challenged such findings. Ibrahim (1986) argues that

prestige should not be equated with SA as this variety is mainly used in writing and formal and public domains. He states that in different communities, a local variety is esteemed over co-existing varieties including SA- even when it has features that might be stigmatized by SA norms. Thus, in reality, speakers in each community make linguistic choices not only between SA and dialectal features but also between different dialectal variants (see 2.4). This view has promoted new interpretations of the role that sex plays in variation and change within Arabic varieties as researchers became less inclined to view men to be more advanced than women in the use of socially-esteemed variants.

Following Ibrahim's remarks, Al-Wer (1991) focuses on the speech of women from three different cities in Jordan: Sult, ʕajloun and Karak and she examines their use of the variables (Q), (θ), (ð) and (dʒ). Interviews were conducted with 116 women and their age and education stratified them. Depending on their city of origin, the participants speak either Fallaḥi/rural or Bedouin dialect; however, their geographical position also grants them access to the urban Palestinian dialect dominating Amman. Al-Wer reports that younger educated women use the prestigious urban Palestinian variants ([ʔ], [s, t], [z, d] and [ʒ]) more than local ones. She justifies this by invoking the fact that education grants women contact with others who use this urban dialect. Therefore, it promotes the shift towards the variants found in these Palestinian varieties. This study is momentous as it confirms that the change within Arab communities is towards non-SA forms that are deemed prestigious even when they depart from SA norms. Other studies (including Schmidt's (1986) examination of Egyptian Arabic, Holes' (1986; 1995) studies of Bahraini Arabic and Al-Rojaie's (2013) analysis of Saudi Arabic) support the view that colloquial variants are appreciated more than SA variants and that women exhibit a higher use of the esteemed variants than their male peers. In essence, variationist studies on Arabic dialects have reanalyzed the role of sex on language variation once prestige was redefined based on the linguistic practices within the community. This is consonant with Cheshire's (2006:427) statement whereby a speech community is defined to share the same norms, the best practice to identify a prestige norm within a community is to take any standard form among the middle-class speakers.

Al-Wer (2014:403) affirms that variationist research available thus far covers a few communities about the size of the population of native speakers of Arabic. It is also important to note that Arab communities and dialects differ from one another and variants that are favored in one community or dialect may not be regarded as such in other communities. Hence, it is vital to uncover the patterns of variation and to examine the role of sex in more communities. Consequently, this study

has considered this factor to reveal how it correlates with dialect change among the group of Nizwa speakers who have migrated to Muscat. The speakers in the sample are divided equally by gender (i.e. 19 males and 19 females).

It is noteworthy that researchers distinguish between sex and gender; sex is considered a physiological trait while gender is a social and dynamic construct (Butler 1988). This study refers to the biological division only, although the terms sex and gender may be used interchangeably. As Cheshire (2006:424) states:

“It is difficult to keep the two concepts apart... [and] [c]urrent thinking in the humanities accepts, in any case, that the dichotomy between sex and gender cannot be maintained, seeing the body and biological processes as part of cultural histories”.

4.2.2 Age

It was considered important to examine the role of age in the variation among the community of the Nizwa migrants in Muscat to gain a better understanding of its role and to put forth findings that may be fundamental for subsequent research on Omani society. The sample consisted of speakers whose ages ranged between 18 to 50 years. Therefore, the effect of age on the speakers' linguistic behavior could not have been overlooked. As Eckert (1997:152) asserts, throughout the different stages of one's lifetime, s/he goes through diverse changes in “family status, gender relations, employment status ... place of residence etc.”, all of which are factors that have implications for one's linguistic practices.

Positively, there has been ample discussion on the role of age in language use and how to approach this effect. Cheshire (2005:1552), for example, clarifies that a researcher can refer to: (i.) “age-specific” use, which denotes the change in an individual's use of language throughout his/her lifespan; and (ii.). “generation-specific” use, which refers to the linguistic practices of the “different cohorts of individuals living within a speech community”.

The relationship between age and the linguistic instability of individuals is not clear-cut, and it can be confused in apparent-time studies (see Sankoff 2006; Wagner 2012).¹⁷ In Table 4.1, Sankoff

¹⁷ Apparent time studies are studies that observe the language use of different age groups simultaneously (Bailey et al. 1991).

(2006:5) provides the different interpretations of linguistic change in relation to age, based on Labov (1994).

Interpretation	Individual	Community	Synchronic Pattern
1. Stability	stable	stable	Flat
2. Age-grading	unstable	stable	Regular increase/ decrease with age
3. Generational change (apparent time)	stable	unstable	Regular increase/ decrease with age
4. Communal change	unstable	unstable	Flat

Table 4.1: patterns of change in the individual and community (Adapted from Sankoff 2006:5)

Of interest in the current study are the cases of age-grading and generational change which are reported by Sankoff (2006:1) and Wagner (2012:374) to be indistinguishable in apparent-time studies, like this one. Wagner (2012:373) explains that age-grading refers to the case where an individual's use of a feature is unstable across his/her lifespan, yet there is a stable and consistent use of this feature in the overall community. Furthermore, she explains that in generational change, individuals have a stable use of a feature throughout their adulthood, while new generations in the community have a changing use. This leads to an increasingly unstable use of the feature in the whole community. Sankoff (2006:6) describes the confusion that can arise between the two types of change as follows:

“The interrelationship between age-grading and apparent time seems to show two different patterns. If a change is ongoing, older speakers as they age may change their speech to some extent in the direction of the change. In the case of sociolinguistic variables known to be stable, however, there may be a curvilinear pattern associated with age as well as with social class, whereby speakers in their mid adult years, more implicated in the “linguistic market” (D. Sankoff and Laberge 1978) may show a greater use of standard variants than is typical of the oldest and youngest speakers.”

Thus, if a change is revealed in the use of the ND variables, three expected scenarios can arise for the effect of age. First, it is possible that speakers of all age cohorts participate in the change towards the new variants- with varying rates of use- and in this case, we would have an unstable use for the whole community; that is generational change. Second, the change towards the new variants is most dominant among the middle-aged speakers due to their involvement in the “linguistic market”; that is, in the workplace where they feel the need to use ‘prestigious’ linguistic

norms. The overall community would be stable, as it does not demonstrate such a shift towards the new variants; thereby revealing that this is an age-grading change. Third, speakers of all age cohort would show a variation in the use of the linguistic features with a comparable use that results in a flat shape, indicating that a communal change is ongoing.

Because this study hypothesizes and seeks to confirm that there is an ongoing change among Nizwa migrants in Muscat, it begins by adopting the generational change model, as it is the appropriate schema for this purpose. As Wagner (2012:373) states, the generational change model is the “‘default’ case of interest to sociolinguists”. Moreover, Tagliamonte (2012:43) reports that generational differences in language use can successfully reflect the progress of language change and apparent-time studies are the ideal tool for uncovering the generational variation. However, age-grading and communal change are not ignored, and they may still be possible interpretations should it be confirmed by the statistical analyses of the study.

4.2.3 AoA

AoA in Muscat was the third social variable examined in this study. It corresponds to the age of exposure to and subsequent acquisition of the features of the Muscat dialect and the other dialects in Muscat city (see CHAPTER 3). Foreman (2001) investigates linguistic variation among six Americans living in Australia, and she confirms that AoA, in that case, did not affect dialect change. She reports that two speakers in her sample conform to Australian English norms; however, one was seven years old while the other was 25 when they began acquiring the D2. Obviously, this study is based on a modest sample so it is not sufficiently representative and further data is required to support this finding.

Fix (2013) provides a more detailed investigation of the role of AoA on dialect change. She observes the speech of 14 white women in Columbus, Ohio to examine their acquisition of African American English features. Their AoA is between 17 and 65, and they all have strong ties with African Americans (kinship and friendship). She finds that the younger the AoA is, the higher the use of African American English morphosyntactic features (e.g. copula absence, unmarked third-person singular, future *be*, negative concord). She also reports that AoA does not correlate with the acquisition of phonological features of African American English (L-vocalization, consonant cluster simplification, substitutions of (t) with (θ)). Clearly, this study has the advantage of involving a wide range of AoA which increases the reliability of the findings. It also differentiates

between the effect of AoA on morphosyntactic features and phonological features. Such information highlights the extent to which the complexity of features can affect adults' SDA.

Indeed, Chambers (1992:687) emphasizes the effect of the complexity of features in relation to AoA. He asserts that the success of acquisition of complex rules and new phonemes is notable amongst migrants with younger AoA. For example, in his study of the acquisition of features of the English of southern England by Canadian children, Chambers (1992:683) refers to the use of the complex rule of vowel backing in southern British English. In this process, the short vowel /a/ is realized as [a] "before voiceless anterior fricatives (as in *plaster, bath*) and before clusters of /n/ + obstruent (as in *dancing, branch*). Yet, the vowel is realized as [æ] in Canadian English. He finds that while children who migrate at younger age (up to 9 years) show a high use of vowel backing, a decline in the use of this feature is noticeable among the Canadian children who migrated at older ages (13+years). Another complex feature Chambers (1992:687-688) refers to is the low vowel merger. While the low back lax vowels /ɒ/ and /ɔ:/ are merged in Canadian English, so that pairs like *tot/taught* and *offal/awful* are homophonous in this variety, in southern British English, those low lax vowels remain split into two. According to Chambers, within his sample of the six Canadian children, the children migrating at an age of 12-year-old and 15-year-old have made no progress towards the acquisition of the new phonemes [ɒ] and [ɔ:] and they used the same vowel [ɑ] (of Canadian English) in all pairs. Likewise, two others (with an AoA of 11 and 13 years) "distinguished the vowels in only one of the ten pairs" presented to them. Contrary to this general lack of progress, the youngest two subjects (migrating at the ages of 7 and 11 years) show a high rate of acquisition for the split phonemes (with rates of 90% and 80%). Such findings lead Chambers (1992:688) to the conclusion that the acquisition of complex features "splits the Canadian youngsters into early and late acquirers". Kerswill (1996) also agrees with Chambers' view. In his review of various studies on the acquisition of D2 features, Kerswill (1996:190) asserts that the attainment of linguistic features is affected by the age of acquisition and exposure to them. For example, he (1996:190-191) reports that during childhood, phonological features with lexical restrictions must be acquired long before the age of 6. Additionally, morphologically conditioned features could be acquired up to the age of 6 years as long as there is constant exposure to them. Yet, phonologically simple unconditioned features can be acquired at any age. Kerswill (1996:196-197) also reports on the influence of AoA on adolescents' acquisition of linguistic features. His review of the acquisition of feature of the Bergen dialect by rural Norwegians¹⁸ who

¹⁸ See (2.3).

migrated at the ages of 12, 16 and 17 reveals that the early movers could completely acquire the morpholexical forms of the Bergen dialect and that the teenagers generally showed a high use of Bergen phonology. Yet, complex morphophonemic features, like schwa lowering, were not acquired correctly, especially after the age of 16 years.

Thus, based on such views, it becomes clear that it is important to review the effect of AoA on acquisition of various linguistic features that ND speakers are exposed to in Muscat. Because this investigation has examined the speech of a larger sample than those cited and since the targeted linguistic variables belong to different levels of grammar (phonology, morphology and syntax), more detailed and reliable findings on the effect of AoA on dialect change are anticipated. Moreover, it should uncover whether Fix's (2013) findings hold true in the context of Arabic dialect change. The sample of this study consisted of speakers whose AoA to Muscat ranged from birth to 36 years. This broad range of AoA is large enough to provide substantial insights on the effect of this factor on dialect change in general and, in particular, the change in ND. Based on the different motivations for their migration, the speakers are divided into three AoA groups: less than 18 years, 18-23 years and 24 years and above (24+) (see 3.2.1 and 3.3.1). The first group represents speakers who migrated with their families at a young age due to their parents' employment in Muscat. The second represents those who come to Muscat to enrol in a higher education programme and the last group is composed of those who migrate to Muscat to work there after graduating elsewhere.

4.2.4 LoR

Another factor this study considered was LoR in Muscat. Contradictory findings are reported on how significant LoR could be in triggering dialect change. On the one hand, Foreman's (2001) study on language variation among Americans residing in Australia shows that LoR does not correlate with the change towards Australian English features. As previously mentioned, Foreman's study is based on a very modest sample, so generalizations cannot be made based upon it. Conversely, Payne's (1980:155-156) aforementioned study of the acquisition of Philadelphia English features¹⁹ confirms that children with fewer years of LoR in the King of Prussia area are less successful in acquiring the features of D2 compared with their peers with longer LoR. However, it should be noted that the success in acquiring the new dialectal features is also tied to AoA and the complexity of the features (see 4.2.3). As Payne (1980: 155-156) writes:

¹⁹ See (4.1).

“children born and raised in King of Prussia, or those who moved to the area by the age of 4 and who have lived in King of Prussia for anywhere between 4 and 16 years, and children who have lived in King of Prussia for 8-16 years and moved between the ages of 5 and 8 have approximately the same degree of success in acquiring the Philadelphia phonetic variables. Children who moved to King of Prussia between the ages of 5 and 8 and who have lived in the area for only 4-7 years show a slightly lower degree of success of acquisition.”

This study shows that a full attainment of simple phonological rules is not always warranted even when there is an early AoA and a long LoR. Such finding is also understood from Trudgill’s (1986) reports on the lack of success in acquiring the simple phonological rule of Australian English /t/ flapping in word-medial and final positions by the English girl even after six months of arrival to Australia.²⁰

Tagliamonte and Molfenter (2007) also examine the acquisition of children’s acquisition of D2 phonology. They investigate the speech of three Canadian children after their move to York, UK with a focus on their use of their native feature of T-voicing. According to Tagliamonte and Molfenter (2007:660), Canadian English has T-voicing in the contexts of “word-medial, inter-sonorant /t/ and word-final /t/ before an initial vowel” and there is evidence that “medial /t/ is sometimes voiced to [D] when it follows voiceless stops (e.g., /p/, /k/) and fricatives (e.g., /s/, /f/)”. Yet, in York British English, this /t/ is realized as [t] or [ʔ]. Findings from Tagliamonte and Molfenter’s (2007:662-663) study show that variability existed from the beginning of the children’s 6 years of residency in the UK and that a change towards the British English pronunciation did not occur immediately. Rather, the change evolved across the 6 years period and there was a progress towards native-like pronunciation of York /t/ as LoR prolonged.

Despite the importance of Payne’s (1980) and Tagliamonte and Molfenter’s (2007) studies, it should be noted that those studies examine the effect of LoR on the change of phonological and phonetic features only, and they focus on SDA among children. Further investigation is required to reveal the influence of this factor on the change within the different levels of grammar and among adult speakers. Both tasks were addressed in the current study.

This study pursues the crucial task of examining the role of LoR in acquiring new dialectal features present in Muscat. As Mann and Harris’ (1989:70) investigation of the diffusion of Canadian and American English features in Point Roberts Island confirms, LoR could be used to reveal dialect

²⁰ See (2.3).

change in apparent-time studies, such as the current one. The study sample included speakers who had been living in Muscat for between 1 and 28 years. Such wide-ranging differences in the LoR could offer a clearer understanding of the effect of this variable on dialect change, from which future studies can benefit.

Finally, Table 4.2. presents the details of the sample's participants.

No.	Speaker	Gender	Age	AoA	LoR
1	YB	male	45	18	28
2	SF	male	33	18	15
3	MR	male	45	36	9
4	SA	female	21	18	4
5	AH	male	30	23	5
6	ZY	female	27	18	9
7	AK	male	28	1	28
8	NK	female	28	18	10
9	SH	male	50	24	23
10	BA	female	26	18	8
11	SK	male	39	27	12
12	SAZ	male	39	18	21
13	MSR	female	22	18	4
14	MSS	female	21	18	4
15	RSS	female	20	18	3
16	HK	female	20	1	20
17	FSS	female	18	18	1
18	NAZ	male	40	18	22
19	KNS	male	38	18	16
20	ISH	female	23	18	5
21	KHD	female	20	18	2
22	MAA	female	21	18	3
23	SHSA	female	20	18	2
24	BHK	male	22	18	4
25	BYH	female	29	27	2
26	RNK	female	34	28	11
27	ISK	male	20	18	3
28	FSA	male	21	18	4
29	SHK	female	40	26	19
30	KKN	male	21	17	4
31	MMR	male	20	17	3
32	YSR	male	22	18	4
33	IKG	male	19	12	7
34	MKA	male	23	17	6
35	LAA	female	26	18	8
36	ZAA	female	28	18	10
37	THA	female	29	18	11
38	YSG	male	32	25	7

Table 4.2: the details of the study's participants

This section completes the review of the examined social predictors. The next section outlines the linguistic dependent variables scrutinized in this investigation.

4.3 The linguistic variables

This section provides a brief introduction to the linguistic variables under investigation. CHAPTER 5 provides an in-depth discussion of the variables. This study investigates changes in linguistic variables that belong to the phonology, morphology and syntax of ND.

4.3.1 Phonological variables

Two phonological variables were investigated in this study, and they both were vowel changes. The first included a change in the quality of vowels concerning the feature of labialization and the second involved syncope.

4.3.1.1 Labialization

Speakers of the ND labialize the high front vowel /i/ and produce it instead as the high back [u] vowel. This process occurs when the target vowel is preceded and/or followed by a consonant that is [+labial], [+emphatic], [+velar], [+guttural] or /r/. Example (1) presents words with the vowel /i/ undergoing labialization in ND.

(1)

a.	mat ^ʕ a:ʕim	→	mat ^ʕ a:ʕum	‘restaurants’
b.	ra:biʕ	→	ra:buʕ	‘fourth’
c.	maba:liʕ	→	maba:luʕ	‘amount of money’
d.	s ^ʕ a:bir	→	s ^ʕ a:bur	‘patient’
e.	yi-mzaħ	→	yumzaħ	‘he jokes’
f.	yi-ʕruð ^ʕ	→	yuʕruð ^ʕ	‘he presents’
g.	yi-ktub	→	yuktub	‘he writes’
h.	yi-rkuð ^ʕ	→	yurkuð ^ʕ	‘he runs’

However, this is a changing feature as verified by the data obtained from the pilot study. Speakers from Nizwa tend to disfavor the use of the labialized versions of their vowels when they move to Muscat. Therefore, they would be pronouncing the words in (1) comparably with their pronunciation on the left. That is, they would maintain the use of the high front vowel [i] which is considered a supralocal variant.²¹

4.3.1.2 Syncope

This is a process whereby a short vowel that reoccurs in an unstressed syllable in the word-onset is deleted. The process applies to all short vowels in the dialect (/i/, /u/ and /a/). Hence, the speakers of ND would pronounce the words in the leftmost side of example (2) without the vowels of their first syllables, compared with those listed in the rightmost side in (2) below.

(2)

- | | | | |
|---------------|---|----------|------------------|
| a. gi.dá:r | → | gdá:r | ‘wall’ |
| b. mu.ddá.ris | → | mddá.ris | ‘a male teacher’ |
| c. da.fá:.tir | → | dfá:.tur | ‘notebooks’ |

It was noticed during the pilot study that this feature is also changing since it is less favored nowadays as Nizwa migrants in Muscat opt for the supralocal variant of vowel retention.

4.3.2 Morphological variables

Two morphological variables were examined in this study. The first was the variation in the use of the second-person feminine singular suffix, and the second was the use of the future marker.

²¹ A ‘supralocal’ variant is one that is spreading “beyond a local speech community” and its spread is not a result of a deliberate standardization policy (Cuesta 2014:332).

4.3.2.1 Second person feminine singular suffix

The second-person feminine singular is expressed in Arabic with a suffix that takes the underlying form (-ik) (Webster 1991:475). The suffix can surface as [-ik], [-ij] or [-ts] in the dialects of the Arab Gulf area. The variant [-ij] is used in ND. However, as revealed in the pilot study and ethnographic observations, it is not uncommon to hear migrants in Muscat replacing it with the variant [-ik] as illustrated in example (3).

(3)

/ʔa-qu:l- ij /	→	[ʔa-qu:l- ik]
I-say- you .2p.fem.sg		I-say- you .2p.fem.sg
‘I say to you (fem. sg)’		

4.3.2.2 Future marker

In the Nizwa variety, future is marked with an idiosyncratic variant consisting of a prefix with a glottal stop /ʔa-/ as can be seen in the underlying forms in example (4). Observations and the pilot study highlighted that ND speakers tend to decrease their use of the glottal stop in favor of the Muscat variant [ba-] and the GA variant *rah*. The change in the future particle from the Nizwa variant to the supralocal variants [ba-] and *rah* is exemplified in (4).

(4)

- | | | | |
|----|-------------------|---|----------------------|
| a. | /ʔa-ru:ḥ/ | → | [ba -ru:ḥ] |
| | Will .I-go | | Will .I-go |
| | ‘I will go’ | | |
| b. | /ʔa-arū:ḥ/ | → | [rah a.ru:ḥ] |
| | Will .I-go | | Will .I-go |
| | ‘I will go’ | | |

4.3.3 Syntactic variable

A further variable that this study scrutinized was the syntactic variation in the use of *yes/no* questions. *Yes/no* questions in ND are characterized by having an extra suffix that contains the clitics */-ə/* and its variants */-əy/*, or */-hə/* as presented in example (5). My ethnographic observations revealed that speakers from Nizwa tended to avoid using this particle when they moved to Muscat. They continued using only rising intonation at the end of the phrase, similar to that attested in the Muscat area. Example (5) illustrates the change from the Nizwa local forms of *yes/no* questions to the supralocal form in which the clitics are absent.

(5)

- | | | |
|--|---|-----------------------------------|
| a. bass-ak-əh↑?
enough-you(masc.sg)-Q
'Have you (masc.sg) had enough?' | → | bass-ak↑?
enough-you.masc.sg-Q |
| b. ʃuf-ti-əy↑?
saw- you.2p.fem-Q
'Did you (fem.sg.) see?' | → | ʃuf-ti-↑?
saw- you.2p.fem-Q |

4.4 The methods

Undoubtedly, individuals use different speech styles on a daily basis. Such stylistic repertoires require consideration when explaining language variation between and among individuals. Moreover, Eckert and Rickford (2001:1) emphasize that 'stylistic variability in speech affords us the possibility of observing the linguistic change in progress'. Therefore, this study aimed to uncover the potential stylistic differences in diverging from ND features and converging to features of other dialects in Muscat. Such information is vital to understand the preferred variants in the different contexts and potentially could provide information on which variants are considered more socially prestigious. Subsequently, data was generated to account for language use in casual versus careful speech styles.

4.4.1 Casual style method

Casual style data was obtained by conducting a digitally-recorded sociolinguistic interview which lasted between 1-hour to 1-hour and 20 minutes. The sociolinguistic interview is defined as “an interview designed to elicit a conversation that resembles casual everyday speech” (Wolfram 2011: 302). Feagin (2004:37) states that allowing for the occurrence of the frequent phonological and morphological forms and certain syntactic forms like negation is one advantage of conducting interviews. Nonetheless, this view is debatable as it depends on both the variable and the speakers (Milroy 1987a; Starks and McRobbi-Utasi (2001:84)). For example, while collecting the data, it was discovered that several male participants opted not to refer to me (a female addressee) with the second-person feminine singular suffix ([-iʃ] vs [-ik]). Instead, they used a generic masculine variant [-ak], which was unexpected in the given context.

Closely related, the notion of naturalness in the sociolinguistic interview has also been questioned and has stirred some controversy. This is a valid question as it is undeniable that any individual would be affected by the fact that s/he is involved in an *interview*. Moreover, this word alone would trigger attention to one’s way of talking as s/he would want to project herself/himself in the best way possible. However, numerous researchers acknowledge that speakers exhibit self-consciousness in their speech in everyday language. Milroy and Gordon (2003:50), for example, report that speakers change their speech style to serve their communicative needs in various contexts and they emphasize that ‘an entirely natural speech event is untenable’. Schilling-Estes (2008:971) also states that there is a level of self-awareness in all speech styles including those that look like ordinary conversations. Indeed, it would be unimaginable to find someone who uses the same way of talking in all speech events s/he is involved in on a daily basis. In the case of the sociolinguistic interview, attention to speech can vary depending on “how speakers conceptualize the interview event” and whether they view it as a formal event or a casual style conversation (Schilling-Estes 2008:971-972).

Therefore, a researcher should strive to reduce the level of consciousness by involving the participants in topics of interest which are relevant to their community and avoiding focus on certain words or features that would attract participants’ attention. This strategy is more likely to shift speakers’ attention from their language use and to produce the vernacular; in other words, ‘the style which is the most regular in its structure... [and] in which the minimum attention is given to the monitoring of speech’ (Labov 1972b:112). As Milroy and Gordon (2003:65) confirm, when

people are involved in discussions about issues that provoke emotions (excitement, anger, interest etc.), they tend to focus on what they say rather than how they say it. Indeed, the participants in this study started the interview by being careful with their language. However, within a few minutes, they were put at ease by the casual atmosphere and altered their speech accordingly.

As Milroy (1987b:38) mentions, the diverse linguistic methods have their own strengths and weaknesses, and the interview method should not be regarded as obsolete. She contends that the interview method remains vital to shed light on the linguistic norms of a speech community.

In this study, the interviews were designed in accordance with Tagliamonte's (2006) model. It was revised so as to include questions that were relevant to Omani culture and topical local events. Questions that might have caused discomfort to the informants were avoided. For example, asking about their private lives or political and religious views. Such measures helped maintain a friendly atmosphere and maintained the conversation in a casual manner. Furthermore, speakers were engaged in naturalistic conversations and less wary of their dialect features given that I am a member of the speech community (Hazen 2000:110). In fact, it is possible to question whether my choice to conduct the interviews myself could have resulted in an increased use of ND forms as a result for accommodation to my use. As Starks and McRobbi-Utasi (2001:82-83) clarify, interviewer effect is an issue that received researcher's attention since accommodation is likely to occur. For example, in Bell and Johnson's (1997) study on interviewer accommodation, Maori and Pakeha male and female informants were interviewed by speakers of their own ethnicity and gender as well as by interviewers of the opposite ethnicity. Bell and Johnson examined the use of the markers *you know*, *eh*, *tag questions* and *high rising terminals*. Their findings showed that while a mutual accommodation can occur between the interviewer and interviewee, there were also cases where the interviewees diverged from the interviewer's use of those linguistic features. Likewise, Sundgren (2016) re-analyzed her interviews with informants for her (2002) study on the change in the Eskilstuna dialect in Sweden. She (2016:99-101) revealed that although she was not a native speaker of the Eskilstuna dialect and she mostly used standard forms for the variants under investigation, her informants showed less use of the standard forms than her. Sundgren (2016:103) also reported on her own accommodation to the informants and her use of local forms of some variants, especially with younger informants. Such studies show that there can indeed be an effect for the interviewer on informants' linguistic choices, yet such an effect may not be present at all times or with all variables under investigation. Finally, it is undeniable that "[r]esearcher identity plays an important role in the type of data collected and in access to the data" (Hazen 2000:115).

As explained by Hazen (2000), being a member of the speech community helps with choosing participants that are representative of the sample's criteria and grants better access to the participants given that the interviewer already has contacts in the community. This was indeed the case for me as I managed to establish contact with the participants through family members and the friend of a friend approach (see 4.2). Additionally, I contacted participants who fit the criteria of my sample based on the fact that I already knew about them and knew that they belong to the categories (gender, age, AoA and LoR) specified in my sample. AS for the risk of informants accommodating to the speech of the researcher, Hazen (2000:115-116) stresses that "the researcher's identity is not something to be altered... [r]ather... researchers should understand how their identities affect the data". He suggests that a researcher could utilize factors like the way s/he dresses and her/his dialect as a way to present themselves to the informants in order to mitigate their self-consciousness and reduce the risk of accommodation. In my study, I dressed up in the modest way of the Omani community. I also played around with my linguistic behavior and tried to sound as natural as possible, so I used the ND forms as well as the supralocal variants to some extent. It is my contention that these techniques facilitated my access to the participants' vernacular and reduced the possibility of accommodation to interviewer.

Advanced preparation of the interview questions ensured topics were included that were likely to yield the targeted phonological and morphological variables, as exemplified in (6).

(6)

- a. t-ʃaggaʃ-ni ʃala ʔakil l-matʕaʃum?
 you-encourage-me to food the-restaurants
 'Do you encourage me to have restaurant food?'

- b. ti-nsʕaħ-ni fi l-mustaqbal ʔabni wala ʔaʃtri: be:t?
 you-advice-me in the-future build or buy house?
 'Do you advise me to build or buy a house in the future?'

The answer to the question in (6a) involved the use of the second-person feminine singular morpheme and a word which can undergo vowel labialization. The answer to (6b) involved the production of the second-person feminine singular morpheme and the future morpheme.

Based on the pilot study, it was unlikely that *yes/no* questions would be elicited from the informants during an interview context. As Feagin (2004:37) states, many syntactic structures including interrogatives “do not occur frequently enough in interviews to provide sufficient data for analysis”. Hence, in this study, I introduced a short question session which followed the interview where participants were asked to *interview me* and ask me questions. This session helped generate natural speech data for the syntactic variable, and it also maximized the chances of producing the other variables. For example, while asking questions, the participants used words that underwent the target phonological or morphological changes. The duration of the interview was as follows: 55 minutes for the interview proper and 10-15 minutes for the question session.²²

4.4.2 Careful style methods

The interview was complemented by techniques that produced controlled data for the above-stated purpose of comparing the effect of style on the use of the target variables. Furthermore, the interview was not likely to ultimately produce enough data for the desired variables; therefore, the careful style tasks helped generate as much data as possible. Controlled data was produced through picture and map tasks, and a judgement test.

A list of words that were expected to undergo the target phonological changes of labialization (35 words) and syncope (27 words) was prepared based on my observations and my insider’s perspective.²³ These words were presented to participants in both picture and map tasks. These tasks compensated for the use of the classical wordlist and reading passage tasks that were introduced by Labov (1972a). Because Arabic is written using SA, providing a reading list would have triggered a SA reading instead of the dialectal pronunciation of words in the lists. Conversely, using the words in pictures and the map allowed for a dialectal pronunciation and, simultaneously, required some attention to the speech. It is unquestionable that it would have been more economical and less overwhelming for the participants to include one task only to produce the controlled data instead of having three, especially that the picture task could have been utilized to do so. However, doing everything in the picture task would also have costs. First, the task would need to be very lengthy to produce quantifiable data for all the variables; therefore, the participants would become

²² The project information sheet, consent forms, participants’ questioner and the schedule of the sociolinguistic interview are provided in Appendices A-C and H.

²³ The lists are provided in Appendix D.

bored and provide potentially brief descriptions, particularly of pictures that appear later in the task. Moreover, not all words that contained the phonological variables and their different conditions could easily be put into pictures. For example, a word like *xibrah* ‘experience’ which undergoes labialization (to *xubrah*) could not be illustrated in a picture, but it could be used in a shop name on a map. Similarly, it would have been difficult to request using the second-person feminine singular morpheme through pictures. Thus, it was important to add the map task to be able to obtain sufficient data for all the phonological and morphological variables and to produce data that involves all the specified linguistic conditions. Furthermore, requesting participants to ask questions based on pictures could potentially have produced more *wh*-questions than *yes/no* questions. Therefore, to guarantee the collection of sufficient data for the *yes/no* questions, it was crucial to perform the judgement/transformation task. The sections below describe the picture, map and judgement tasks.

4.4.2.1 Picture task

Participants were shown pictures of items and events. They were asked to name the items and describe the events. This task primarily elicited data relevant to the phonological changes of labialization and syncope.²⁴

4.4.2.2 Map task

A map was designed with landmarks that contained words expected to undergo the target phonological changes.²⁵ The map also generated the data for the second-person feminine singular morpheme and the future morpheme.

There is increasing use of maps in sociolinguistic research (e.g. Grønnum 2009; Scobbie et al. 2013; Nolan and Post 2013). Although the usual use of maps involves two participants conducting the task with each other (e.g. Anderson et al. 1991; Brown 2000), in this study, only one participant was involved alongside me. This was because the task was intended to provide data for the second-person feminine singular morpheme and it would have been difficult to guarantee that each time a male and a female participant were available to meet to perform this task. Besides, having a male

²⁴ Pictures were taken by me or family members to avoid copyright issues and to make them reflect the Omani culture as much as possible. The picture task is provided in Appendix E.

²⁵ The map task is provided in Appendix F.

and a female participant doing the task together would mean that the male participants would always refer to the females using the second-person feminine singular suffix, while the females would always be using the masculine suffix. This would have produced data for the target variable by males only, but not by females. Thus, to ensure the production of the second-person feminine singular morpheme, it was best to have each participant give the directions to me since I am female.

4.4.2.3 Judgment test: transformation task

As noted previously, a judgement test was designed to collect data on the syntactic change in the use of the *yes/no* question clitics. Traditionally, data for syntactic phenomena was acquired by using judgement tests of acceptability. These tests elicit speakers' reactions and judgements on whether sentences are acceptable to them (Schütze and Sprouse 2013:28). Schütze and Sprouse clarify that the rationale for using such a methodology is that "*acceptability* is a *percept* that arises (spontaneously) in response to linguistic stimuli" such as sentences or strings of words. In other words, acceptability judgements are based on native speakers' intuitions.

According to Buchstaller and Corrigan (2011:30), there is a growing tendency to use introspective judgements to collect and analyze data for dialectal variation at the grammatical level. Comparably, this study adopts this method of collecting data in the use of *yes/no* question clitics. A reformulation/translation task was employed for this study, which is comparable to that administered in the Syntactic Atlas of the Dutch Dialects (SAND) project in the Netherlands (DynaSAND Website). Cornips and Jongenburger (2001:58) explain that in SAND, participants are asked to transform questions from standard Dutch into their own dialects. Buchstaller and Corrigan (2011:32) confirm that this task is unique as it involves simultaneous production and introspection. Moreover, they state that this task allows for a systematic collection of syntactic structures that may not be obtainable in natural contexts.

Participants in my study were presented with 35 questions written in SA: 27 of which were *yes/no* question and eight were distractor *wh*-questions. The use of distractors in judgement tests is standard practice (e.g. Schachter and Yip 1990; Murphy 1997; Honeybone 2010) which helps with hiding the variable under investigation so that participants do not become focused on it. Unlike SAND, participants were not given a written copy of the questionnaire on account of the issues with written Arabic and the standard noted earlier in (4.4.2). Instead, I read the questions and

participants transformed them orally into their dialectal use. This was because the target dialectal syntactic change (clitics vs rising intonation) would not have been apparent if the transformation was done in writing. The dialectal features could only be detected in the spoken form. Because the questions were delivered in SA instead of dialect, the choice between the Nizwa clitics and the rising intonation was left open to the participants, and no variant was imposed over the other. This was because SA and dialects differ on how questions are formulated as shown in example (7).

(7)

<u>SA</u>			<u>Dialectal Arabic</u>	
a.	ʔayna ðahab-ta? where went-you.2p.masc. 'Where did you go?'	→	hi:n/fi:n ruḥ-t? where went-you.2p.masc.	
b.	hal ðahab-ta did went-you.2p.masc. 'Did you go to school?'	→	li-l-madrasah? to-the-school	ruḥ-t l-madrasah? went-you.2p.masc. the school

The question in (7a) is a *wh*-question while (7b) is a *yes/no* question. It is notable that the SA versions of the questions differ from the dialectal ones in their lexical choices and their structures. For example, 'where' in SA is 'ʔayna', but it is 'hi:n/fi:n' in the dialects of Nizwa and Muscat. Furthermore, while a question word 'hal' (did) is required for SA *yes/no* question, it is not necessary for the dialects, as seen in (7b). The realization that SA differs significantly from dialects helped elicit natural responses from participants. It also shifted their attention from the unwritten and suprasegmental features to the lexical and structural choices they made. Thus, the task successfully produced data on speakers' preferences of the syntactic feature and reflected their performance rather than their acceptability of utterances.²⁶

The reliability and theoretical interpretation of judgement data have been debatable for a long time (Cowart 1997:2). Traditional judgement tests of acceptability are criticized for investigating too few sentences, having a small number of informants, and requesting sentences to be categorized as being either good or bad. These features of the traditional judgement tests have stimulated debates on whether these tests can reflect the grammatical competence of speakers (Tremblay 2005:130). The validity of the data can also be questionable in cases where the researcher is a participant or

²⁶ The transformation task is provided in appendix G.

even the sole source for data. Such practices increase the risks of unrepresentativeness and experiment bias, as clarified by Myers (2009:406).

Thus, researchers investigating syntactic phenomena began to adopt formal judgement tests involving procedures based on experimental psychology (Sprouse 2013:2). These tests employ longer surveys that are carefully planned to include the phenomena under investigation along with distractors. The survey is disseminated to a large number of naïve participants, and the results are subjected to quantitative analysis (Sprouse and Almeida 2011:5). Myers (2009:412) assures that these measures are important to ensure the reliability and validity of the formal judgement tests.

Several studies compare the traditional judgement tests of acceptability with the formal judgement method. For example, Gibson and Fedorenko (2010) argue that traditional methods of collecting syntactic data are flawed. They base their argument on an experiment they conducted comparing seven types of sentence they acquired from previous studies. While the acceptability judgement methods reveal a significant difference between the sentences, their formal experiment demonstrates that the difference is insignificant. Conversely, Sprouse and Almeida (2013) contest the invalidity and unreliability of traditional judgements by conducting a formal experiment on 469 sentence types from generative syntax with 440 naïve informants. Their statistical analyses confirm that 98% of the traditional judgements matched the results from the formal experiment. Sprouse and Almeida (2013:225) conclude that ‘traditional methods are, in fact, well calibrated to the phenomena of interest to syntacticians’. Nevertheless, Myers (2009:410) warns that a match between formal experiments and traditional judgements is not always ascertained. He endorses this conclusion by referring to the case of Kayne’s (1983) proposal of putative “amnestying” of superiority violations, which was not reaffirmed by Clifton et al. (2006). He also refers to the claim that there are no *that*-trace effects in German (e.g. Haider 1983) when the opposite was, in fact, subsequently supported experimentally by Featherston (2005). Sprouse and Almeida (2013:227) go further suggesting that “syntactic theory will be well served by the addition of formal experiments into the syntactician’s repertoire” largely because some syntactic phenomena would be better understood by formal experimentation.

Despite the conflicting views on judgement tests, I sympathize with the value of traditional acceptability judgement tests to investigate theoretical syntactic phenomena. They have indeed been successfully used to explain numerous syntactic processes (Sprouse and Almeida 2013). However, using a traditional acceptability judgement test requiring informants to rate sentences on

a binary scale, or even on a scale with a wider range of ratings, could not reveal speakers' actual performance in real life. The issue of dialect change falls within Sprouse and Almeida's (2013) category noted above of topics that cannot be investigated using the traditional acceptability test. The unsystematic design and administration of these tests can be problematic for a theory of language variation and change as having a test with few sentences and no distractors along with the fact of having a small number of participants cannot provide valid and reliable data to make generalizations about an ongoing change in an entire community. Hence, traditional acceptability judgement tests were not employed in this research.

As discussed in (4.1), the field of language variation and change can still benefit from methods of theoretical linguists. Formalized experiments of judgement tests are a vital source for data on syntactic change. The above-mentioned transformation task of this study is a type of formalized judgement test. It has the benefit of producing data that reflects speakers' performance and acceptability of variants at the same time. Having a large sample of speakers, using a long survey with distractor *wh*-questions, being systematic by having all the speakers go over the same procedures while doing the task and analyzing the answers statistically are measures that helped increase the reliability and validity of the task in this study. Indeed, without the help of syntactic data collection methods, obtaining data for this study would have been a dilemma. The formalized judgement task of transformation was successful in producing quantifiable data (see 7.3).

The following section reveals how the collected data was handled.

4.5 The data

4.5.1 Transcription

A phonetic transcription (using International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) conventions) was carried out for the data acquired in the casual conversation and the controlled tasks. As Kerswill and Wright (1990:273) verify, segmental transcription using the IPA is a valid and reliable practice: "[it] is still the most succinct way of summarising the relationship between auditory and articulatory dimensions".

An Excel spreadsheet was used to transcribe the data for each linguistic variable. The spreadsheets included information pertaining to each speaker's gender, age, AoA in Muscat and LoR. All the

tokens that contained the variants of each target variable were recorded on the spreadsheets. When a speaker used a word containing a variant more than five times, only the first five tokens were logged. For each token, reference was made to the chosen variant and to the speech style and the task in which it was produced. Information about linguistic conditions was also provided while transcribing the data on labialization, syncope and the future marker since such information applied to these variables (see CHAPTER 5 for further details).

The transcription was based on an auditory analysis of the data. Auditory phonetic transcription is regularly practised within sociolinguistics, as confirmed by Kerswill and Wright (1990:255). However, Kerswill and Wright question the validity and reliability of this transcription method. To highlight the issues, they conducted an experiment in which 13 phoneticians were asked to transcribe utterances containing the assimilation of word-final /d/ to [g]. The sentences recorded were also analyzed using the *electropalatography* technique, which records the position of the tongue in the mouth. They find that phoneticians' transcriptions did not match the acoustic data in some cases. They explain this by the fact that the phoneticians have prior knowledge of the phonological context of assimilation and knowledge of articulatory phonetics which adversely influenced their decisions.

Conversely, researchers coming from the background of psychology endorse the validity of the auditory analysis of sounds. Diehl (2008:965) confirms that it is possible to detect speech sounds accurately even in noise-filled conditions. Additionally, Moore (2008:960) states that auditory abilities are reliable when compared to acoustic analysis. He explains that “frequency selectivity,²⁷ timbre perception,²⁸ the perception of pitch²⁹ and temporal analysis”³⁰ are key factors that contribute to the robustness of auditory perception. For instance, Johnson (1993) investigates clicks and pulmonic consonants in Xhosa concerning auditory and acoustic analyses. He provides the auditory and acoustic spectra in Figure 4.1 to illustrate the similarities between the two analyses when examining stops, fricatives and clicks.

²⁷ Frequency selectivity refers to the ability to resolve the sinusoidal components in a complex sound (Moore 2008).

²⁸ Timbre is usually defined as that attribute of auditory sensation in terms of which a listener can judge that two sounds similarly presented and having the same loudness and pitch are actually dissimilar (Moore 2008).

²⁹ Pitch is that attribute of auditory sensation in terms of which sounds can be ordered on a scale extending from low to high (Moore 2008).

³⁰ Temporal analysis measures the change in a sound over successive units of time (Moore 2008).

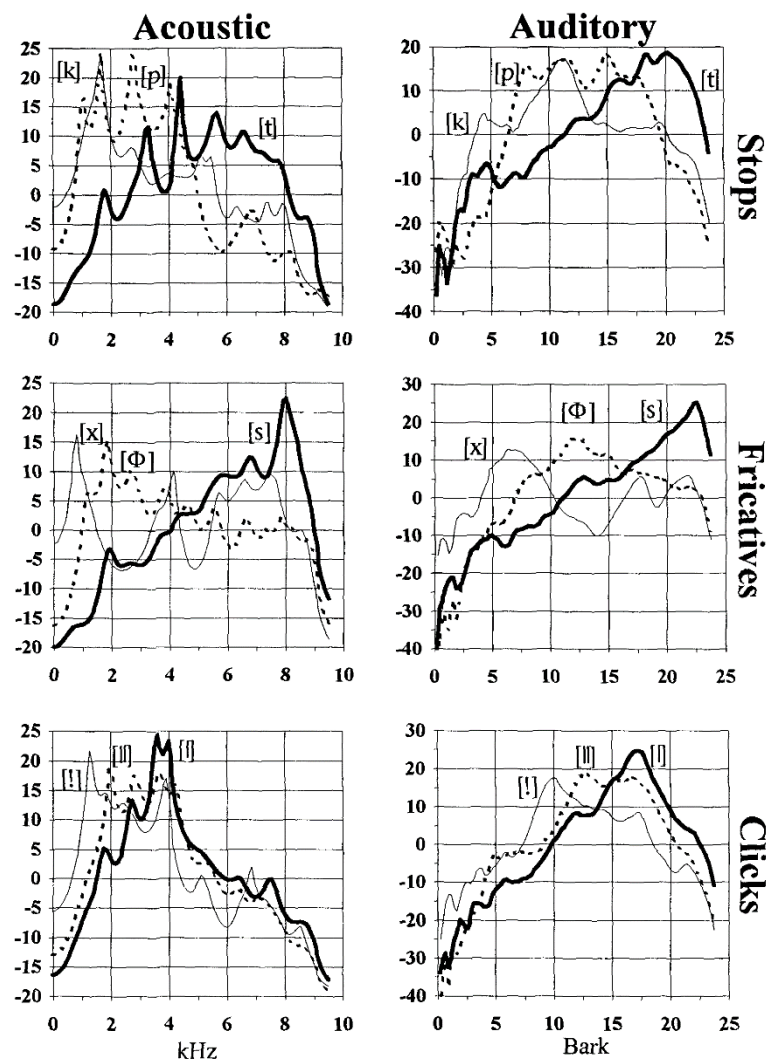


Figure 4.1: auditory and acoustic spectra for Xhosa stops, fricatives and clicks (From Johnson 1993:38)

Johnson (1993:39) mentions that the auditory and acoustic analyses both show the similarities between frequencies of the sounds, yet the auditory spectrum has an enhanced view compared with the acoustic version. When comparing the two types of spectra, Johnson (1993:44) states that the auditory analysis is preferable because it is based on “representation which is closer to the listener’s experience of speech sounds”.

It was indeed the case that the target sounds in this study were attainable via the auditory analysis. There were no cases of confusion regarding which vowel (/i/, /u/ or /a/) or consonants (/i-ʃ/ vs. /i-ik/; /ʔa-/ vs. /ba-/ or *raħ*) were used while scrutinizing the variables in the data. After all, these are

segments that bear distinguishable articulatory features. Ultimately, the choice between acoustic and auditory analyses depends on the theory the researcher is working on and the aims of the investigation. As Kerswill and Wright (1990:273) state, the auditory and acoustic strategies that transcribers use are credible and interpretable and they are certainly not contradictory to each other.

The reliability of the transcription is an issue that can also be questioned. This issue relates to transcription variation and consistency (Kerswill and Wright 1990:258). In this study, the reliability of the transcription was ensured by cross-referencing each word that was logged with the previous examples (up to the previous five examples). Additionally, once the data was transcribed, the contents of the spreadsheets were examined to verify consistency.³¹ Moreover, I asked a colleague to go over the transcription of parts of the data to verify the accuracy, and he reported similar transcriptions to mine.

4.5.2 Statistical analysis

The data was statistically analyzed using the software package ‘R’ (R Core Team 2012) which is considered state-of-the-art for most contemporary sociolinguistic analyses. Loewen et al. (2014:372) clarify that while 69% of applied linguists use SPSS to perform statistical analyses, only 15% use R. Nevertheless, R is a popular tool in other fields of research (Mizumoto and Plonsky 2016:285). Mizumoto and Plonsky (2016:285-287) recommend using R in applied linguistic research for several reasons. First, R allows for the reproducibility of the data analysis. This can be very helpful in cases where there is a need to replicate research or validate findings. Second, several packages are built for R to enable researchers to conduct any statistical analysis. Mizumoto and Plonsky name the following types of modelling that are performable in R and are used commonly in applied linguistics: bootstrapping, hierarchical linear modelling, multi-level modelling/mixed-effects modelling, Bayesian analysis and quantile regression (also see Baayen et al. 2008; Larson-Hall and Herrington 2010; Gudmestad et al. 2013; Chen and Chalhoub-Deville 2014 and Gries 2015). Third, R produces high-quality graphics which are superior to those

³¹ There were no more than 5 occasions in which the transcription was not accurate and I had to go back to the recordings to check those words and transcribe them properly.

produced in Excel and SPSS since researchers can manipulate figures to add more details (for example, individual data points, means, error bars etc.) compared with other programmes.³²

R was used to perform mixed-effects logistic regression tests using the package “lme4” (Bates et. Al 2015). Drager and Hay (2012:59) explain that logistic regression models are typically selected when analyzing binary and continuous data in the study of language variation and change. Precisely, it is the “mixed-effects models [that] have become the gold standard of statistical analysis in linguistics” over the past decade, and they are favored over ANOVA and linear regression models (Eager and Roy 2017:1). Drager and Hay (2012:59-60) mention that mixed-effects models make it possible to uncover what linguistic patterns exist within an entire group and to reveal variation within the individuals at the same time. Furthermore, Eager and Roy (2017:1) state that mixed-effects models can handle data gathered from “repeated measures on participants and across items” and they allow for modelling all sources of the variation at the same time. In simple terms, mixed-effects models facilitate assessment of the role of multiple predictors in the use of a linguistic variable. Undeniably, isolating the role of each independent factor in the variation in the use of a target linguistic variable is not a proper practice because in real life a speaker is influenced by various synchronized reasons that prompt her/his choice of a variant over another. Young and Bayley (1996) refer to this as “the principle of multiple causes”. Therefore, mixed-effects logistic regression was performed to assess the impact of multiple social and (when applicable) linguistic factors on the diverse linguistic variables under investigation in this study.

It is worth noting that researchers recommend checking for collinearity prior to undertaking statistical analyses. For example, Zuu et al. (2010:9) write that:

“If collinearity is ignored, one is likely to end up with a confusing statistical analysis in which nothing is significant, but where dropping one covariate can make the others significant, or even change the sign of estimated parameters.”

³² It is worth noting that VARBRUL/GoldVarb/Rbrul is a commonly used software by researchers on sociolinguistics and language variation and change (see Sankoff 1975 & 1988; Sankoff and Labov 1979; Young and Bayley 1996, Bayley 2002, Tagliamonte 2006). However, I preferred to use R as it is more powerful than VARBRUL since it allows for running logistic regression models that include continuous variables and it can test interactions between independent variables. On the other hand, VARBRUL does not allow for carrying out such tasks (Bayley 2006). Also, see Johnson (2013) for details on issues in VARBRUL that R overcomes.

Hence, I checked for collinearity of the factors of age, AoA and LoR to verify that it does not lead to obscuring the effects of these variables. I tested it by running a variance inflation factor test using the *vif()* function of the *car* package in R. This test yielded low scores which ruled out collinearity for those predictors and affirmed that it was possible to fit them within the same mixed-effects models.

Furthermore, I generated models that took Barr et al.'s (2013) recommendation of keeping models maximal and including random effects into consideration. Barr et al. (2013:45) suggest that “for whatever fixed effects are of critical interest, the corresponding random effects should be present in that analysis”. Therefore, the models presented in both results chapters (i.e. CHAPTER 6 and CHAPTER 7) accommodated random-effect for speakers.

Another issue that should be clarified is that I compared between models that have the predictors of age, AoA and LoR as numerical variables and models which instead have these predictors as categorical variables (i.e. speakers divided as groups in relation to these factors). Comparing the models with the two types of data (using an ANOVA test in R as well as applying the *model.sel()* function of the *MuMIn* package) affirmed that models with age and LoR set as continuous factors have higher support than models with these predictors set as categorical factors.

The mixed-effects models produce p-values that either validate or annul the significance of predictors. With regard to the interpretation of the p-value, Levon (2010:71-71) explains that it is a convention in humanities and social sciences to consider the null hypothesis to be no more than 5% accurate ($p = 0.05$). When the chance for the null hypothesis to be true is greater than 5% ($p > 0.05$), it cannot be rejected. When the chance of the null hypothesis to be true is less than or equal to 5% ($p \leq 0.05$), it can be rejected. Levon writes that:

“Since the null and experimental hypotheses are two sides of the same coin, when we *reject* the null hypothesis, we conversely are able to *support* the experimental hypothesis. In this situation, we claim that the quantitative analysis was statistically significant”.

It is worth noting that at the end of the sociolinguistic interview, there was a section with questions about ND and whether people are still using it in the same manner as their parents and grandparents (see Appendix H). Although these are indirect questions about the change in ND, some participants referred to variables scrutinized in this study. For example, some participants referred to the use of the second-person feminine singular suffix (see 7.1.3) and the *yes/no* question clitics (see 7.3.3). Such references are quoted in the discussions provided in chapter 7. Yet, it should be clarified that tokens presented in those quotes are not included in the statistical analyses since it can be debated that those tokens represent monitored speech data as oppose to casual style data.

4.5.3 Qualitative analysis

In addition to the above use of the statistical analysis, the data is scrutinized by adopting a qualitative approach. This type of analysis is mainly used to provide a better understanding of the results derived from the quantitative macro-sociolinguistic analysis (see 2.2). A micro-sociolinguistic approach (see 2.2) is utilized to uncover the differences in speakers' contact patterns/social networks, speakers' ideological stances with regard to Nizwa and its dialect, their view of the dialects that exist in the Muscat urban area and how they identify and situate themselves in relation to other social groups in Muscat (see 2.5 for further details). The findings based on this analysis will be detailed in chapter 8 (see 8.2.2 and 8.2.3).

4.6 Conclusion

This chapter has offered details on the pilot study and its pivotal role in shaping the current research. It also clarified the criteria used to recruit the participants in relation to the social factors of gender, age, AoA in Muscat and LoR there. Moreover, it briefly described the target phonological, morphological and syntactic variables and the changes they might be expected to undergo.

The main aim of this chapter was to present the methods used to obtain the data. Stylistic differences in language use were considered by employing methods that yielded casual style and careful style data. Successively, the data transcription process and the statistical analysis were outlined.

Further details on the linguistic variables and the linguistic conditions are provided in CHAPTER 5.

CHAPTER 5 Linguistic Variables

5.0 Introduction

This chapter reviews the linguistic variables investigated in this study. It offers a discussion of the variables, their uses in ND and how they are changing. It also explains their relation to similar processes in other dialects and languages. Section (5.1) reviews the phonological variables of labialization and syncope. Section (5.2) presents the morphological variables of the second-person feminine singular suffix and the future morpheme. Section (5.3) discusses the diversity of the syntactic variable of *yes/no* question clitics. Concluding remarks for the chapter are offered in (5.4).

5.1 The phonological variables

5.1.1 Labialization

ND is characterized by extensive use of a high back round vowel [u] in positions where other Arabic dialects, including other Omani dialects, have the high front vowel [i]. Arabicists refer to this process as *labialization*, *backing* and *u-coloring* (e.g. Watson 1999; Bellem 2007). Labialization has been documented in some dialects in Saudi Arabia (Al-Mouzaini 1981), Iraq (Bellem 2007) and Yemen (Watson 1999).

5.1.1.1 Labialization across Arabic dialects

Al-Mouzainy's (1981) study on Bedouin Hijazi Arabic refers to the alternation between [i] and [u]. He shows that [i] and [u] in the Hijazi variety are contrastive in similar environments, as evidenced by a minimal pairs test, such as that presented in (1).

(1)

- | | | | | |
|------------------------|-----------------------------------|-----|----------------------|--------------------------|
| a. gillah | 'a few' | vs. | gullah | 'a bomb' |
| b. yaksur | 'he breaks' | vs. | yk'assir | 'he smashes' |
| c. yxabut ^c | 'he strikes with a piece of wood' | vs. | yxabbit ^c | 'he strikes intensively' |

(Al-Mouzaini 1981:21-23)

Conversely, Al-Mouzaini (1981:19-21) reports on Lahn's (1967) remarks that in the Najdi dialects of Saudi Arabia, the [-back +high] vowel [i] alternates to [+back] (i.e. [u]) when it is adjacent to

an emphatic consonant. This observation is also documented by Bellem (2007:188-192) in her investigation of the dialects of Iraq. She reveals that in Baghdad, [i] and [u] are neutralized by Muslims, but not Christians or Jews. Muslim Baghdadis speak a sedentary dialect, and they tend to labialize the high vowel [i] in the environment of CVC where one C is a velar or an emphatic and the other is a labial. Blanc (1964:37) further clarifies that when /r/ is adjacent to a low vowel, it becomes emphatic and, therefore, can prompt the change from [i] to [u].

Similarly, Watson's (1999:294-297) study of the San'ani dialect of Yemen demonstrates that vowel labialization occurs in the environment of /r/, velar, uvular and emphatic consonants. She explains that pharyngealized consonants are articulated with lip protrusion; therefore, they cause the rounding of the short high vowel /i/. Watson confirms that labialization in San'ani dialect not only targets high vowels adjacent to emphatics, but also extends to all high vowels in the phonological word in a rightward manner, as presented in the examples in (2).

(2)

- | | | |
|----|--------------------------|------------------|
| a. | mat ^ʕ raguh | 'hammer' |
| b. | yus ^ʕ affihum | 'he cleans them' |
| c. | t ^ʕ ayyubuh | 'good' |

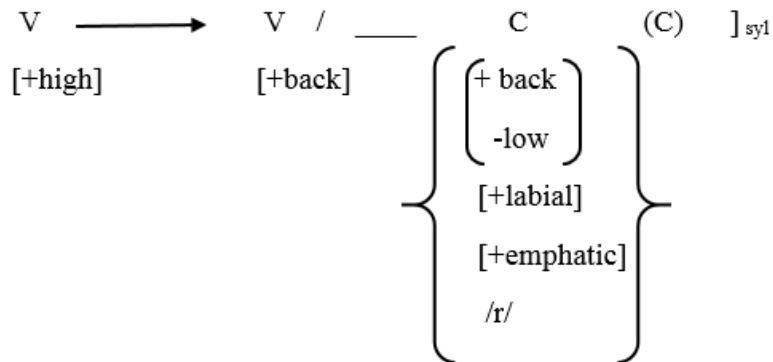
(Watson 1999: 296)

Furthermore, Goitein (1960:360-361) confirms the notion that consonants can trigger labialization of all vowels in the same sound unit in the dialects of higher Yemen. Similarly, McCarthy (1994:220) refers briefly to the labialization of /i/ in Palestinian Arabic in the presence of emphatics or uvulars.

Indeed, Glover's (1988:45-47) examination of the dialect of Muscat reveals that MA also has the process of labialization. She clarifies that the short high vowels [i] and [u] are allophones in the dialect when the high vowel /i/ is tautosyllabic with a backed consonant. Labials, labial-velar /w/, emphatics, uvulars and pharyngeals preceding or following the high vowel can trigger backing whereas interdental, denti-alveolars, palatals and glottals do not. Glover confirms that backing is primarily induced by the presence of a [+back] consonant (C_b), but the vowel /i/ can also be affected by the other conditioning consonants to a lesser degree. She provides the rule in (A) to account for backing/labialization in MA:

(A)

High Short Vowel Backing (Postlexical)



(Glover 1988:53)

Having reviewed the use of the process of labialization in other dialects, its use in ND will now be explained.

5.1.1.2 Labialization in ND

5.1.1.2.1 The vowel

Labialization is noted as targeting the low vowel /a/ in some dialects. For example, Bellem (2007:191) briefly mentions that, in some cases, Muslim Baghdadis pronounce their /a/ as an [u] under the rule mentioned in (5.1.1.1) for the labialization of /i/ by Muslims in Baghdad. Some of her examples are provided in (3).

(3)

- a. qamar \longrightarrow gumar ‘moon’
- b. bas^ʕal \longrightarrow bus^ʕal ‘onions’

Moreover, Watson (1999:295) reports on the change of /a/ to [u] in the San’ani Arabic of Yemen. She demonstrates that this change occurs in verbs in the perfect aspect when they contain emphatic or velar consonants as shown in (4).

(4)

- | | | | | |
|----|--------|---|--------|---------------------|
| a. | ʕataʃ | → | ʔutuʃ | ‘to become thirsty’ |
| b. | wasʕal | → | wusʕul | ‘to arrive’ |
| c. | kabar | → | kubur | ‘to become big’ |
| d. | kaθar | → | kutur | ‘to become many’ |

Although ND does show labialization of /a/, it evidently differs from the aforementioned patterns. The vowel /a/ is never labialized in stems in ND, so the words in (3) and (4) will still be pronounced with the low vowel /a/ and never with [u]. Example (5) shows that in ND, labialization does not apply when the vowel /a/ is in the stem even though the proper environment for it is fulfilled.

(5)

- | | | | | |
|----|--------|---|--------|------------|
| a. | rasam | → | rasam | ‘drew’ |
| b. | fataħ | → | fataħ | ‘opened’ |
| c. | ðʕahar | → | ðʕahar | ‘appeared’ |
| d. | masaħ | → | masaħ | ‘erased’ |

A further observation on the labialization of /a/ in ND is that it only targets the /a/ found in the inflectional prefixes /ya-/ of the third-person masculine singular, /ta-/ of the third-person feminine singular and /na-/ of the first-person plural. These prefixes attach to imperfect verbs. Example (6) illustrates how only the vowel in these prefixes is labialized whereas the rule does not apply to other prefixes nor the stems.

- (6)
- | | | | | |
|----|------------|---|------------|---------------------|
| a. | ya-msaḥ | → | yu-msaḥ | ‘he erases’ |
| b. | ta-msaḥ | → | tu-msaḥ | ‘she erases’ |
| c. | ya-msaḥ-u | → | y-mish-u | ‘they (mas.) erase’ |
| d. | ya-msaḥ-na | → | y-mish-an | ‘they (fem.) erase’ |
| e. | ʔa-msaḥ | → | ʔa-msaḥ | ‘I erase’ |
| f. | na-msaḥ | → | nu-msaḥ | ‘we erase’ |
| g. | ʔa-ya-msaḥ | → | ʔa-yu-msaḥ | ‘he will erase’ |
| h. | ʔa-ta-msaḥ | → | ʔa-tu-msaḥ | ‘she will erase’ |
| i. | ya-ftaḥ | → | yu-ftaḥ | ‘he opens’ |
| j. | ta-ftaḥ | → | tu-ftaḥ | ‘she opens’ |
| k. | ya-ftaḥ-u | → | yi-fith-u | ‘they (fem.) open’ |
| l. | ya-ftaḥ-na | → | yi-fith-an | ‘they (fem.) open’ |
| m. | ʔa-ftaḥ | → | ʔa-ftaḥ | ‘I open’ |
| n. | na-ftaḥ | → | nu-ftaḥ | ‘we open’ |

Although the labialization of /a/ in ND has morphological conditions, both the vowels /i/ and /a/ continue to be labialized in the same phonetic environments (also see 5.1.1.2.2). Moreover, when the /a/ in these prefixes is not labialized, it never surfaces as [a] but is realized as [i]. Watson (1999:296) also discusses the labialization of the vowel in the prefixes /yi-/ , /ti-/ and /ni-/ judging that these prefixes have the vowel /i/ and not /a/.

In fact, Abboud (1978:129-130) refers to the replacement of the vowel /a/ with [i] in the prefixes attached to imperfect verbs (e.g. /ya-/ , /ta-/ and /na-/). He (1978:129) mentions that the change of the Classical Arabic /a/ of the imperfect prefixes into [i] has become a predominant characteristic “in the dialects of the sedentary population of the Arabic-speaking world”. Similarly, Grand’Henry (2011:430-431) asserts that this change of /a/ to [i] in the imperfect performative is a proto- Semitic and Arabic feature referred to commonly as *taltala*. He additionally confirms that the *taltala* has become prevalent in the modern Arabic dialects.

By Occam’s razor, I conclude that labialization in ND only targets the high vowel /i/. The labialization of /a/ is thus not a type of labialization with additional morphological restrictions. Rather, two processes are in action here. First, the underlying /a/ in the prefixes /ya-/ , /ta-/ and /na-/

/ changes to [i] as a result of the *taltala* process which yields these prefixes as /yi-/ , /ti-/ and /ni-/. In fact, the change form /a/ to /i/ in these prefixes is a complete historic change as per the discussion above and the comments made by Aboud (1978), Watson (1999) and Grand’Henry (2011). Second, the *taltala* feeds the process of labialization since the resulting vowel [i] becomes subject to labialization so that it surfaces as [u].

5.1.1.2.2 *The linguistic conditions*

The pattern of the labialization of the vowel /i/ in the ND data is similar to that found in Najdi and Muslim Baghdadi dialects; whereby it is non-contrastive in the presence of an emphatic (/t^ʕ/, /s^ʕ/, /ð^ʕ/), a velar (/k/, /g/), /r/ and a labial consonant (/b/, /m/), as seen in the examples in (7).

(7)

- | | | | | |
|----|--------|---|--------|----------------|
| a. | ga:miʕ | → | ga:muʕ | ‘grand mosque’ |
| b. | wa:gib | → | wa:gub | ‘homework’ |
| c. | ʃarib | → | ʃarub | ‘has drunk’ |

However, the pattern is also observable in the presence of a C_b like a uvular and a pharyngeal which is similar to the case in Yemini Arabic and MA, as shown in (8).

(8)

- | | | | | |
|----|----------|---|----------|-------------------|
| a. | fana:diq | → | fana:duq | ‘hotels’ |
| b. | ma:niʕ | → | ma:nuʕ | ‘a barrier’ |
| c. | maba:lik | → | mba:luʕ | ‘amount of money’ |
| d. | muna:sib | → | mna:sub | ‘suitable’ |

The examples in (8) reveal that - unlike Baghdadi Arabic - labialization in ND does not require that one C is a velar or an emphatic and the other is a labial. Indeed, the rule provided by Glover gives a better account for the data of ND as it shows that the presence of a C_b determines the labialization of the high vowel. What is more, this rule accounts for cases, as in example (8.c.) where only a [+labial] consonant is present and no accompanying C_b.

A distinctive feature of labialization in ND is that the environment for labialization extends to include the glottal sounds of the dialect (/ʔ/ and /h/), as exemplified in the examples in (9).

(9)

- | | | | | |
|----|----------|---|----------------------|-------------------|
| a. | ya-hdi | → | yu-hdi | ‘he gives a gift’ |
| b. | na-ʔlaf | → | nu-ʔlaf | ‘we get used to’ |
| c. | fa:rih | → | fa:ruh | ‘luxurious’ |
| d. | ta:ʔih | → | ta:yuh ³³ | ‘lost’ |
| e. | li-ʔsu:d | → | lu-ʔsu:d | ‘the lions’ |

This validates the proposal that labialization in ND can be triggered by the presence of a consonant that can be labial, emphatic, velar, uvular, pharyngeal, glottal or an /r/. The backing effect of this set of consonants on the vowel is justified by the fact that except for labials, they are all articulated in the back of the mouth with the tongue being in a high back position (Glover 1988:54). Emphatic consonants in Arabic are also produced with similar tongue retraction (Ghazeli 1977:76-77). Therefore, they cause backing of the vowel /i/. As for the case of /r/, it has been noted that when a low vowel precedes /r/, it acquires a secondary emphatic feature (Younes 1993:217). Hence, it causes the backing of /i/. Furthermore, regarding the role of labials in vowel backing, Glover (1988:54) explains that:

‘[T]here is a link between backing and lip tension, which can be seen in the fact that for high back vowels rounding is less marked than unrounding. In Arabic and in MA lip tension, which may help elongate the oral cavity, accompanies the articulation of the emphatic consonants. Also, labial consonants, nonlow back consonants, and high back vowels bear acoustic similarities to one another not shared with coronals and front vowels.’

Glover’s rule of labialization in MA (provided in (A)) clarifies that it is a prerequisite to have the conditioning consonant and the changing high front vowel in the same syllable. This requirement is also valid for the labialization process in ND. The examples in (10a-c) show the application of labialization in ND when this requirement is met. In (10d-e), the conditioning consonant and the high front vowel occur in different syllables; thus, the rule is not executed.

³³ In SA, the word ‘ta:ʔih’ has a glottal stop, also known as *Hamzah* in Arabic. In Arabic dialects, the Hamzah tends to be changed to a glide in many positions. In this example, it was changed to ‘y’ and hence the word became ‘ta:yih’.

(10)

a.	sa:.biʕ	→	sa:.buʕ	‘seventh’
b.	ra:.tib	→	ra:.tub	‘salary’
c.	χib.rah	→	χub.rah	‘experience’
d.	si.ha:m	→	si.ha:m	‘arrows/Name’
e.	ri.ma:h	→	ri.ma:h	‘spears’

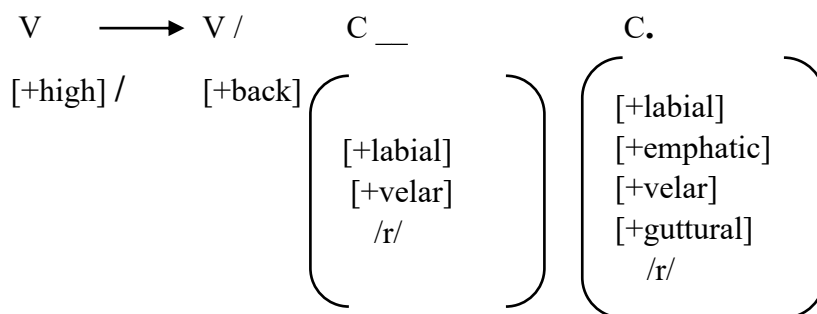
A final observation about the labialization rule in ND is that the emphatics, uvulars, pharyngeal and glottals trigger labialization when they are in the following environment only. Example (11) show that the high vowel /i/ is not labialized when those sounds are in the preceding environment.

(11)

a.	ya-tʕin	→	ytʕin	‘buzz’
b.	ysʕin	→	ysʕin	‘to slap forcefully’
c.	ra:kid	→	ra:kid	‘sensible’
d.	ra:qid	→	ra:qid	‘sleeping’
e.	muba:hiθ	→	mba:hiθ	‘he already asked’
f.	muba:ʕid	→	mba:ʕid	‘made distant’
g.	ʕa:hid	→	ʕa:hid	‘Name’
h.	ra:ʔid	→	ra:ʔid	‘Name’

Based on these observations, I have devised the rule in (B) to account for the phenomenon sketched above associated with labialization in ND.

(B)

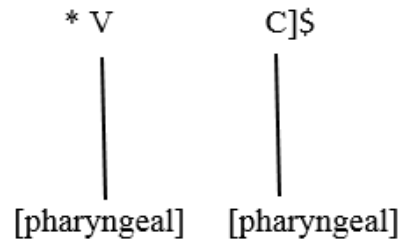


Condition: at least one C needs to be present

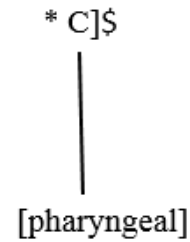
It is noteworthy that in Semitic languages, post-velar consonants (uvulars, pharyngeals and glottals) have been documented to trigger similar phonological processes collaboratively and therefore they are considered to form a natural class called guttural (Hayward & Hayward 1989; McCarthy 1991). According to Hellmuth (2013:53), the post-velar consonants cause changes to the phonetic realization of neighboring vowels and consonants. For example, Sylak-Glassman (2013:2) states that the guttural group has been observed to cause the lowering of adjacent vowels in Arabic, Maltese and Tiberian Hebrew (also see Perkell 1971; Kiparsky 1974; Wood 1979; Hayward and Hayward 1989 and Herzallah 1990). Indeed, McCarthy (1994:202-218) refers to several processes that support the use of this group, one of which is the process of vowel lowering in the vicinity of a guttural consonant. He (1994:208) explains that this influence is phonetically motivated as gutturals have [pharyngeal] quality (i.e. they have a constriction of the pharynx). Therefore, this feature spreads to the adjacent vowel turning it to the low vowel /a/ since this vowel is also marked with a [Constricted Pharynx] feature. Another argument to which McCarthy alludes is the restriction on the co-occurrence of gutturals in root-consonants (see Greenberg 1950; McCarthy 1985; Mester 1986; Drescher 1989; Yip 1989 and Padgett 1991). McCarthy (1994:203-205) explains that roots with adjacent homorganic consonants are restricted. Moreover, statistical evidence reveals that combinations with two guttural sounds, in particular, are either non-existent or significantly low. Thus, he argues that such a restriction “requires reference to the gutturals as a natural class”. Further evidence that McCarthy (1994:2013-2016) uses is the prohibition of having a guttural consonant in stem-medial coda position in the sequence CVGVVCV where **G** is a guttural sound. This requirement applies with no restriction in Hebrew and Tigre (see Malone 1984 and Itô 1986 for further discussions). Moreover, it applies to Bedouin Hijazi, but requires the presence of a low vowel in the syllable containing the guttural consonant (also see Al-Mouzainy 1981). McCarthy provides the rule in (C) to illustrate the application of this requirement in Bedouin Hijazi Arabic and Hebrew. This tendency, which is shared by these varieties of Semitic languages, supports the requirement of classifying these sounds like a natural class.

(C)

Bedouin-Arabic Syllabic Co-occurrence Condition



Hebrew Coda Condition



(Adapted from McCarthy 1994:2015- 2016)

Based on the arguments made by McCarthy, I use the feature [+guttural] to refer to the post-velar consonants since this shows a more economical use of distinctive features than using the [+back, -low] feature used by Glover in rule (A).

5.1.1.2.3 The variation

Despite labialization being present in MA, observations and the pilot study confirm that migrants from Nizwa avoid this pronunciation and they opt for the using the front vowel [i] that is used by speakers of other non-sedentary Omani dialects which suggests that this variant is a supralocal form for this variable. The change in the use of the vowel from a high back [u] to front [i] is clarified in the examples presented in (12).

(12)

a.	mana:t ^ʕ uq	→	mana:t ^ʕ iq	‘areas’
b.	ga:nub	→	ga:nib	‘side’
c.	ʃa:ruʕ	→	ʃa:riʕ	‘road’
d.	y ^u -kwi	→	y ⁱ -kwi	‘he irons’
e.	tu-qra	→	ti-qra	‘she reads’
f.	nu-ħkum	→	ni-ħkum	‘we judge’

This study examined whether some phonetic environments within the rule in (B) are linked to a higher rate of the erosion of labialization among speakers who migrated to Muscat.

This concludes the review of labialization. The following section proceeds to examine the process of syncope.

5.1.2 Syncope

5.1.2.1 Syncope across Arabic dialects

Short vowels are deleted in open syllables in many Arabic dialects (Kiparsky 2003:150). Stress is a significant factor that conditions the deletion of short vowels in modern spoken dialects of Arabic (Watson 2011:2292). For instance, Brame (1974:44-45) explains that, in Maltese, a short vowel in an unstressed CV syllable is deleted in accordance with the rule presented in (D).

(D)

$$\begin{array}{c} \text{V} \longrightarrow \emptyset \quad / \quad ______ \text{CV} \\ [-\text{stress}] \end{array}$$

(Adapted

from Brame 1974: 44)

Nonetheless, Broselow (1976: 2-3) clarifies that short vowel deletion in Egyptian Arabic is not only affected by stress, but that vowel height is a contributing factor to deletion in this variety. She further postulates that a high vowel in an unstressed open syllable is deleted if preceded and followed by no more than one consonant, as described in the rule given in (E).

(E)

$$\begin{array}{c} V \longrightarrow \emptyset \quad / VC ______ CV \\ +\text{high} \\ -\text{stress} \end{array}$$

(From Glover 1988:241)

In contrast, Al-Mouzaini's (1981) review of deletion in Hijazi Bedouin Arabic reveals that high and short vowels in the dialect can be deleted. This is due primarily to being in an open syllable rather than being affected by lack of stress. He provides the rule in (F) to account for high vowel deletion in Bedouin Hijazi.

(F)

$$\begin{array}{c} V \longrightarrow \emptyset / ______ . \\ \left(\begin{array}{c} +\text{high} \\ -\text{long} \end{array} \right) \end{array}$$

(Adapted from Al-Mouzaini's 1981:47)

He further describes that the deletion of the short low vowel in the Bedouin Hijazi dialect has an additional requirement of being followed by another open syllable with a low vowel as postulated by the following rule.

(G)

$$\begin{array}{c} V \longrightarrow \emptyset \quad / \quad ______ C \quad V \\ \left(\begin{array}{c} +\text{low} \\ -\text{long} \end{array} \right) \qquad \qquad \qquad [+low] | \end{array}$$

(Al-Mouzaini's 1981:62)

Similarly to Broselow's (1976) account for Egyptian Arabic, Glover (1981:16) explains that MA also has a short vowel deletion rule that targets any short vowel in non-final open syllables, as explained by the rule presented in (H).

(H)

$$\begin{array}{c} V \longrightarrow \emptyset \quad / \quad VC ______ CV \\ [-\text{stress}] \end{array}$$

Condition: applies from right to left

(Adapted from Glover 1981:61)

The following section refers to the application of syncope in ND.

5.1.2.2 Syncope in ND

5.1.2.2.1 The linguistic conditions

As in many Arabic dialects, short vowels are deleted in open syllables in ND where the deletion rule is regularly observed in unstressed word-initial CV syllables. As clarified in the discussion in (5.1.2.1), lack of stress and being in an open syllable are key factors for the application of syncope.

Both factors are prerequisites for the application of syncope in ND as the rule does not apply when the word-initial open syllables are stressed nor when they are closed as seen in (13).

(13)

a.	ní.sa:	→	ní.sa:	‘women’
b.	ǰág.rah	→	ǰág.rah	‘a tree’
c.	mág.mar	→	mág.mar	‘incense burner’

This process results in words with CC onsets. Kiparsky (2003:150) clarifies that this type of onset is a result of high vowel deletion in an open syllable rendering initial CiC- as CC. However, unlike Kiparsky’s comment and Broselow’s (1976) aforementioned account of Egyptian Arabic, vowel height would appear to play no role in the deletion process in ND. In fact, all short vowels in the dialect (/i/, /a/ and /u/) can be deleted when they occur in word-initial unstressed open syllables as illustrated in (14).³⁴

(14)

a.	bi.sá:tʕ	→	bsá:tʕ	‘mat’
b.	ma.sá:gid	→	msá:gid	‘mosques’
c.	nu.gú:m	→	ngú:m	‘stars’

The deletion process in ND is also different from that of Bedouin Hijazi in that the deletion of a low vowel does not require having a following open syllable with a low vowel. Hence, the ND examples in (15) are contrary to Al-Mouzaini’s (1981) rule in (G).

(15)

a.	ba.sʕál	→	bsʕál	‘onions’
b.	da.gá:g	→	dgá:g	‘hens’
c.	ħa.rí:m	→	ħri:m	‘women’
d.	ya.mí:n	→	ymí:n	‘right’

³⁴ The diacritic // on top of the vowels shows the stress position.

It thus becomes clear that the rule in (I) can best capture syncope in Nizwa Arabic.

(I)

$$\underset{[-\text{stress}]}{V} \longrightarrow \emptyset / \#C ____.$$

5.1.2.2.2 The variation

Syncope is a historic change that is attested in ND as well as in the Muscat dialect (Glover 1981:61), yet migrants from Nizwa prefer not to apply this rule, as verified by the pilot study. They choose to use words with a less complex onset, i.e. #CV just as speakers of the non-sedentary dialects of Oman do. Their change from vowel deletion towards the supralocal feature of vowel retention is illustrated in example (16).

(16)

a.	<u>ḡ</u> qáq	→	ʃi.qáq	‘flats’
b.	<u>ḏ</u> fá:..tur	→	da.ḑá:..tir	‘hens’
c.	<u>ḡ</u> bá:l	→	gi.bá:l	‘mountains’
d.	<u>k</u> túb	→	ku.túb	‘books’

The Nizwa migrants’ elimination of the use of syncope is achieved by the adoption of a synchronic process of epenthesis which inserts a vowel in word-onsets CCs. As Farwaneh (2009:83) states, the epenthesis process is a “repair mechanism available to rectify unwanted clusters” that results from processes like syncope. This vowel epenthesis process is also documented in other Arabic dialects like Saudi Arabic (Abou-Mansour 1990), Levantine Arabic (Haddad 1984, Gouskova and Hall 2009) and Moroccan Arabic (Ali et al. 2008).

In this study, linguistic conditions were taken into consideration when analyzing this change. Variation in syncope is investigated with regard to whether a certain vowel (/i/, /u/ or /a/) undergoes more deletion/retention than others. Furthermore, consideration is given to whether the sonority sequence of the preceding and following consonants affects the rate of vowel deletion. Syllables

are expected to follow a certain structure that applies across languages (Clements 1990:283). The phonetic system governing this syllable structure preference is referred to as the Sonority Sequencing Principle (SSP). It requires that sounds with higher sonority appear closer to the nucleus of the syllable (i.e. the vowel) while those with lower sonority stay on the edge of a syllable (Clements 1990:283-284). Consequently, sounds are ranked along a continuum depending on how sonorous they are. The sonority hierarchy illustrated in Figure 5.1 is followed when examining the syncope process.

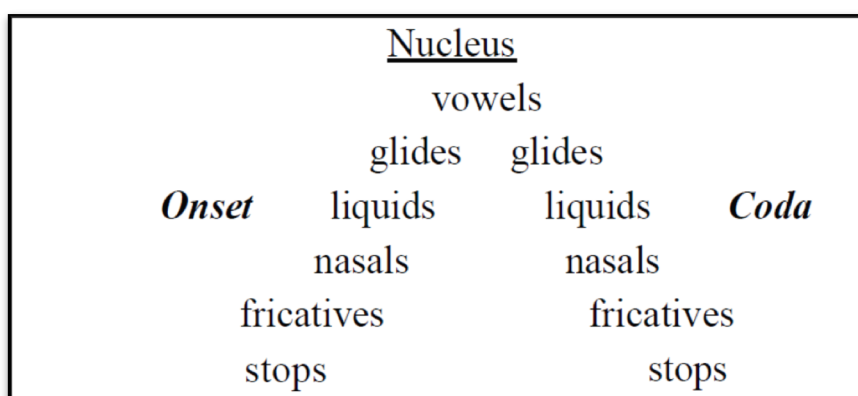


Figure 5.1: the sonority hierarchy of the syllable (From Carlisle 2001:4)

It is vital for this study to refer to the sonority sequence in the data, as it provides insight into how the word-initial consonant clusters work in ND and whether there is adherence to SSP restrictions. Furthermore, it can reveal whether certain environments trigger higher rates of vowel deletion.

The next section discusses the morphological variables.

5.2 The morphological variables

5.2.1 Second-person feminine singular suffix

5.2.1.1 The variants and their distributions

The second-person feminine singular morpheme (-ik) is a common variant in Arabic dialects. Johnston (1963:210) states that the velar /k/ is affricated in modern Arabic dialects. According to

Holes (1991:652-654) this affrication process, which is referred to as *kashkasha* and *kaskasa*, changes the velar to [ʃ], [tʃ] or [ts]. Owens (2013:176) provides the list in Table 5.1 for the variants of the second-person feminine suffix in the modern dialects of Arabic and the regions in which they are spread.

Variant	Area of use
[-iʃ]	Highland Yemen, south-eastern Arabian Peninsula (i.e. Oman)
[-its]	Najd
[-itʃ]	Gulf, “gilit” Iraqi, Jordanian and Syrian desert, rural Palestinian
[-ik] or [-ki]	Otherwise in the Arabic-speaking world

Table 5.1: the variants of the second-person feminine singular suffix and their distributions

Equally, Al-Rojaie (2013:46-47) mentions that the use of the variant [-iʃ] is attested in urban dialects in the Gulf, Baghdad, Basra and Oman. Watson (1992:60) also asserts that [-iʃ] is used in Hadramawt, Dofār and Northern Yemen. Furthermore, Al-Rojaie (2013:47) reports that the variant [-its] is used in Bedouin dialects and urban centers in Najd. Holes (1991:654) clarifies that [-itʃ] is a local variant in central and north central Arabia (which includes central Najd, Qas'im, and Jabal Shammar in Saudi), lower Iraq and Khuzestan, and the eastern parts of the Arab Gulf up to Dubai.

However, not all modern Arabic dialects affricate the /k/. Al-Rojaie (2013:47) emphasizes that “affrication is not attested in some dialects on the peninsula, such as the Hijazi/Western dialects of Saudi Arabia”. The non-affricated variant [-ik] is used in Jordanian Arabic (Abdel-Jawad 1982), Egyptian Arabic (Al-Sahrqawi 2014) and the Levantine varieties (Khamis-Dakwar et al. 2012). Holes (1991:654) also reports on the use of the reflexes [-ik]/[-ki] in the Yemeni/Saudi area of Tiha:ma and along the north-south coastal corridor. The map provided in Figure 5.2 illustrates the distribution of the variants of the second-person feminine singular suffix in modern Arabic dialects.

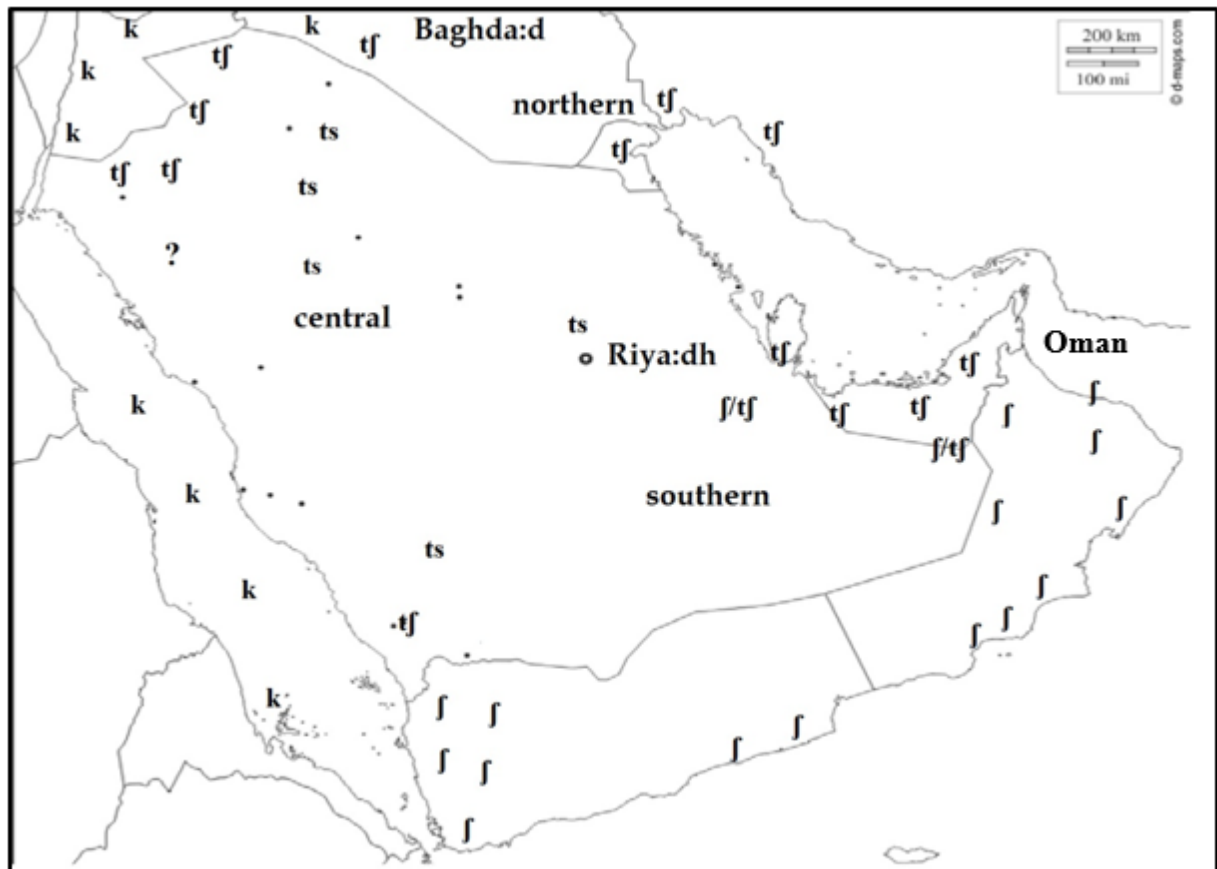


Figure 5.2: the distribution of second-person feminine singular suffix in modern Arabic dialects (Adapted from Holes 1991:673)

It is noteworthy that the map presented in Figure 5.2 does not include the variants [-ik] and [-itʃ] as part of the Omani inventory for the second-person feminine singular suffix. However, Holes (2011b:483) writes later in his discussion of OA that the “[f]eminine singular [-ik] is confined to the âl-Wahîba region in south-eastern Oman, and [the] feminine singular [-itʃ] to areas in the north which border the United Arab Emirates”.

5.2.1.2 Linguistic conditions on the variants

The varying use of the affrication process has been scrutinized in many Arabic dialects, including Jordanian Arabic (Abdel-Jawad 1981; Al Khatib 1988), Saudi Arabic (Al-Essa 2008; El Salman 2016), Yemeni Arabic (Watson 1992) and the dialects of the Arab Gulf (Holes 1991). The variation

in the affricated variants [its] and [itʃ] is reported to be linguistically conditioned. According to Owens (2015:12), the change of /k/ to [tʃ] can be both conditioned and unconditioned depending on the dialect. The conditioned change is found among speakers in the areas of Khorasan, Eastern Sharqiyya, Baghdad and Horan and it requires a neighboring front vowel. Arabs use the unconditioned type in Morocco, Syria and the rural West Bank. Within these communities, it may apply regardless of the presence of a front vowel. Owens also asserts that the change to [ts] requires having an adjacent front vowel.

Analogously, several studies have examined the effect of linguistic and social conditions on the affrication of /k/ in the dialects of the Arab Gulf. For example, Mustafawi's (2011:229-230) examination of the affrication of /k/ in Qatari Arabic shows that the variation from /k/ to [tʃ] is restricted by the so-called Obligatory Contour Principle (OCP). This rule stipulates that "[a]djacent identical tones are banned from the lexical representation of a morpheme" (Kenstowicz 1994:323). Hence, according to Mustafawi (2011:229-230), in Qatari Arabic "affrication is blocked when the outcome includes a sequence of segments that are highly similar". He (2011:232-233) demonstrates that affrication applies in examples (17a-c). Nonetheless, it is obstructed in the words in (17d-f) because the resulting sound [tʃ] would bear place of articulation features that are similar to the adjacent consonants. This would then be a violation of the OCP-Place restrictions in the dialect.

(17)

- | | | | |
|------------------|---|-----------------|---------------|
| a. kibi:r | → | tʃibi:r | 'big' |
| b. kiθi:r | → | tʃiθi:r | 'plenty' |
| c. ði:k | → | ði:tʃ | 'that (fem)' |
| d. kba:r | → | *tʃba:r | 'big (PL)' |
| e. kθa:r | → | *tʃθa:r | 'plenty (PL)' |
| f. kiʃʃah | → | *tʃiʃʃah | 'messy hair' |

(From Mustafawi 2011:232-233)

Such an observation is also reiterated by Al-Rasheedi (2015) in his study of the affrication of /k/ in the dialect of Hai'l in Saudi Arabia. He (2015:29-333) reveals that the dialect has the variants [k] and [ts] for /k/ and that the quality of the neighboring vowel does not determine the alternation to [ts]. It is rather the effect of OCP that requires blocking outcomes containing segments that are similar to the place features of [ts].

Similarly, Al-Rojaie (2013) studies the affrication of /k/ in the Qas'imi dialect in Qas'im province in Saudi Arabia. In this variety, /k/ is pronounced as [ts] in stem level (as in example (18a-c)) and in the second-person feminine singular suffix /-ik/ (as in (18d-f)).

(18)

a. ʔakil	→	ʔatsil	‘food’
b. wark	→	warts	‘upper part of thigh’
c. karʃih	→	tsarʃih	‘belly’
d. kita:b-ik	→	kita:b-its	‘your book (fem)’
e. fi:-ik	→	fi:-ts	‘in you (fem)’
f. j-jza:-k	→	j-jza:-ts	‘to reward you (fem)’

(From Al-Rojaie 2013:49-54)

He finds that the affrication of /k/ in the stem position is higher when it is adjacent to high and low front vowels, and the social factors of education, sex, and age are influential for this change. Moreover, he demonstrates that the second-person feminine singular suffix /-ik/ is always affricated by all participants regardless of the phonetic environment and social factors. Equally, El Salman's (2016) study of the affrication of /k/ in the Anizi dialect of Saudi shows that this variable has the local variant [ts] and the variant [k]. The affrication of /k/ can happen word-initially, word-medially and word-finally. His analysis highlights the preference of participants to use their local affricated variant [ts] in all the positions of /k/. He also shows that this variation is affected by the social factors of age and sex rather than the linguistic factor of position.

Such studies have stimulated the investigation of this variable in the speech of the Nizwa migrants to reveal the role of social factors in the use of the second-person feminine singular suffix.

5.2.1.3 The variable in ND

In Oman, the variants [-iʃ], [-itʃ] and [-ik]/[-ki] are used as reflexes of the second-person feminine singular (Holes 2011b:483). Rosenhouse (2006:263) states that the allomorphs [-ik] and [-itʃ] are used in Bedouin dialects. Sedentary dialects, like that of Nizwa, have the variant [-iʃ]. It is important to note that the /k/ of stems is never affricated in ND and that it is only the /k/ in second-person feminine singular suffix which undergoes affrication, as shown in example (19).

(19)

- | | | | | |
|----|---------|---|---------|----------------------|
| a. | kabi:r | → | kbi:r | ‘big’ |
| b. | ba:kir | → | ba:kur | ‘tomorrow’ |
| c. | haða:k | → | haða:k | ‘that’ |
| d. | ma:l-ik | → | ma:l-ij | ‘yours (fem.sg)’ |
| e. | ʃuft-ik | → | ʃuft-ij | ‘I saw you (fem.sg)’ |

5.2.1.3.1 The variation

As demonstrated in the pilot study, migrants from Nizwa to Muscat replace their affricated variant of the second-person feminine singular suffix with [-ik] - despite [-ij] also being local to the MA (Glover 1988:200). The examples in (20) reveal the use of the local variant [-ij] occurring both post-consonantly and post-vocally.

(20)

[-ij] post-consonantly:

- a. ʔa-qu:l-ij
I-tell-you.fem.sg
‘I tell you (feminine singular)’
- b. ʔum-ij
mother-your.fem.sg
‘your (feminine singular) mother’
- c. kita:b-ij
book-your.fem.sg
‘your (feminine singular) book’

[-ij] post-vocally:

- d. gaza:-ʃ
reward-your.fem.sg
‘may you (feminine singular) be rewarded’
- e. ʔbu:-ʃ
father-your.fem.sg
‘your (feminine singular) father’
- f. fi:-ʃ
in-your.fem.sg
‘in you (feminine singular)’

It is worth noting with respect to the examples in (20d-e) that when the suffix [-iʃ] attaches to a word ending with a vowel, the vowel /i/ of the suffix is deleted. Example (21) illustrates how the words in (20) would be pronounced when the variant [-ik] is chosen.

(21)

[-ik] post-consonantly:

- a. ʔa-qu:l-**ik**
I-tell-you.fem.sg
'I tell you (feminine singular)'
- b. ʔum-**ik**
mother-your.fem.sg
'your (feminine singular) mother'
- c. kita:b-**ik**
book-your.f.sg
'your (feminine singular) book'

[-ik] post-vocalically:

- d. gaza:-**ki**
reward-your.fem.sg
'may you (feminine singular) be rewarded'
- e. ʔbu:-**ki**
father-your.fem.sg
'your (feminine singular) father'
- f. fi:-**ki**
in-your.fem.sg
'in you (feminine singular)'

In dialects containing the [-ik] variant, the second-person feminine suffix is pronounced as such when it is attached to words ending with consonants (21a-b). It is realized as [-ki] when it is attached to words ending with a vowel (21c-d).

5.2.1.3.2 *The linguistic conditioning of the variation in ND*

The effect of the quality of the neighboring vowel was judged irrelevant to the variation observed in the ND since the discussion in (5.2.1.2) shows that it is the variation towards [ts] and [tʃ] that is influenced by having an adjacent front vowel. Indeed, Fischer (1965:27) has pointed out that the shift of the Old Arabic /-ki/ of the second-person feminine suffix towards the variants [-itʃ] and [-its] results from a phonological rule that changes $k > tʃ > ts$.³⁵ Conversely, the replacement of this morpheme with [-iʃ] in the southern dialects of the Arabian Peninsula is a result of borrowing. Holes (1991:655-659) supports the view that the southern dialects of this region either have no affrication or unconditioned variation towards [ʃ]. Additionally, Owens' (2013, 2015) discussions show that phonological requirements are only conditioned for the change towards [-itʃ] and [-its], and no requirements are stipulated for the affrication to [-iʃ] in the south-east.

Similarly, the effect of the OCP restrictions that are acknowledged by Mustafawi's (2011) and Al-Rasheedi's (2015) analyses were not considered in this study. This is because Mustafawi's and Al-Rasheedi's conclusions are based on data pertaining to changes in the stem level. Since no stem /k/ is affricated in ND (see 5.2.1.3), this condition proves irrelevant for this study. Additionally, this condition is not germane to the case of [-iʃ] as this morpheme is always suffixed and has a vowel before the affricated consonant [ʃ]. Thus, the [ʃ] within it will always be separated from adjacent consonants with similar features, which renders the OCP-Place inapplicable. Thus, I conclude that the variants [-iʃ] and [-ik] of the second-person feminine singular suffix are in free variation and there are no linguistic conditions that lead to favoring one variant over another in ND. Hence, the variation in the use of this variable is only analyzed in relation to the extra-linguistic variables discussed in CHAPTER 4.

The following section presents the future morpheme variable.

³⁵ A similar process is reported for the present participle suffix /-ing/ in English which has been documented to have changed from the grapheme <-ind> to <-ing> during the Middle English period.. This has led to contemporary variation in the pronunciation of this suffix since it can be pronounced as [-in], [-in] or even [-ing] in some dialects (see Houston 1985; Hazen 2006; Schleef et. al 2015)

5.2.2 Future marker

5.2.2.1 The future variants in Arabic

The future morpheme is always attached to imperfective verbs in Arabic. Future in SA is expressed using the markers *sawfa* and /sa-/ (Abdel-Hafiz 2005:64). Al-Saidat and Al-Momani (2010:399-400) affirm that /sa-/ is used with events taking place in the near-future while *sawfa* is used with events distant from the time of utterance. Example (22) illustrates the use of the SA future markers.

(22)

- | | | | | |
|----|-----------------------------|----------------------------|------|------------|
| a. | sa- | ʔa-ðhab-u | illa | ʔal-manzil |
| | Will-I-go-indicative | to | | the-house |
| | | 'I will go home' | | |
| | | | | |
| b. | sawfa | nu-sa:fi:ru | fi: | ʔsʕ- sʕayf |
| | Will | we-travel- indicative | in | the-summer |
| | | 'We will travel in summer' | | |

Modern Arabic dialects express future using other forms too. For example, Cairene Arabic has the prefix /ha-/ with its variant [ha-] as marker of future (Abdel-Hafiz 2005:64), Tunisian Arabic has the particle *beef* (Boussofara-Omar 2003:41), Moroccan Arabic has the particle *yadi* (Aoun et al. 2010:31) and Levantine varieties use the particle *rah* (Khamis-Dakwar et al. 2012:34-35) as well as the *b*-prefix (Cowell 2005; Jarad 2013).

With regard to GA, Holes (1990:187-188) states that the prefix /b-/ is attached to imperfective verbs to refer to the future. He also mentions the fact that /h-/ is prefixed in some Omani dialects and that the particle *rah* is used in Kuwaiti and Iraqi varieties of GA. Similarly, Persson (2008:38) reports the use of *rah* in Kuwait and by speakers from Bahrain, UAE and Oman. Another future marker to which Holes (2004:247) refers is *yabi/baka* "to want", which is used in the Shiite Baharna dialects in Bahrain to indicate "proximate intention" and "wanting". Examples of the use of the morphemes /b-/, *rah* and *yabi* to indicate future in GA are provided in (23).

(23)

- a. **ba**-ya:-χið sayya:rt-ak
Will-he-take car-your (2p.masc.sg)
 ‘He will take your car’
- b. **rah**-ya:-χið sayya:rt-ak
Will-he-take car-your (2p.masc.sg)
 ‘He will take your car’
- c. **ʔa-bbi** ʔa:χið sayya:rt-ak
I-would I-take car-your (2p.masc.sg)
 ‘I would like to take your car’

As with the SA markers, the dialectal future markers differ in their connotations. Persson (2008:26-27) clarifies that unlike the GA *b*-prefix, its counterpart in Levantine and Egyptian Arabic does not indicate future. Instead, it signals indicative mood and/or progressive or habitual aspect. Example (24) illustrates this use Egyptian Arabic.

(24)

- a. il-walad bi-ya:-kul kul yu:m
 The-boy **habitual**-he-eats everyday
 ‘The boy eats everyday’
- b. il-walad bi-ya:-kul dilwaqti:
 The-boy **progressive**-he-eats now
 ‘The boy is eating now’

(adapted from: El Shorbagy 2009:34)

(adapted from: El Shorbagy 2009:44)

However, Al-Saidat and Al-Momani (2010:403-404) write that, in Jordanian Arabic, the markers /*bad*-, /*ra:yiħ* and /*b*-/ all express futurity. When the prefix /*b*-/ is attached to an imperfective verb, it expresses continuity of the action. A future adverbial (e.g. *tomorrow*) is required to make this prefix mark future. Cowell (2005:34) also reports examples from Syrian Arabic in which future is signalled by prefixing the particle /*b*-/ to imperfective verbs or by using the particle *badd*.

With regard to the meanings of GA markers, Johnston (1967:143-169) explains that the /*b*-/ prefix in the dialects of Bahrain, Kuwait, Qatar, UAE and parts of Oman indicates future with a sense of

volition while *raḥ* implies intention. Moreover, the /b-/ prefix is reported to signal near-future in Kuwaiti Arabic (Persson 2008:31) and in Najdi Arabic (Ingham 1994:120). Nevertheless, Jarad (2014:107) affirms that *raḥ* can also be used to signal immediate future and distant future alike. Regarding the use of the marker *baka*, Qafesheh (1977: 227) explains that it bears a sense of desire or an effort to act.

Actually, Ingham (1994:120) states that the *b*-prefix is a contracted form of the verb *yabi/baka* hence it has a volitional reading. Holes (1990:188) also states that the *b*-prefix is shortened from the lexical verb “to want” (i.e. *yabi/baka*) and he illustrates this with the example provided in (25).

(25)

Fiih	wa:ḥid	yi-ḥars ^s -ik	barra	b -y-gu:l-l-ik	ḡay
in-it	one	3p.masc.sg-wait-you	outside	FUT -3p.masc.sg-say-to-you	something

‘There is someone waiting for you outside who wants to tell you something’

Likewise, Al-Bahri (2014:72) advocates that the future marker /b- /is a derived form of the verb *yaby* ‘he wants’. He explains that “the two are interchangeable in Hadari/ [Sedentary dialects]... and can never co-occur as in “**b-yaby*” ‘he will want’ ”.

It thus becomes clear that the meanings of the different future markers of diverse Arabic dialects are strongly attached to the origins of these particles. Such an observation calls for tracing the development of the future proclitic under investigation.

5.2.2.2 The development of the Arabic future particles

The observation that the dialectal future marker /b-/ is derived from the verb *yabi/baka* is consonant with Bybee and Pagliuca’s (1987:110) view that cross-linguistically, future morphemes are formed from lexical verbs which have similar meanings to those morphemes. Bybee et al. (1994:251-253) clarify that there are common lexical sources from which future markers are derived. These include verbs of movement (e.g. *go, come*), verbs of desire (e.g. *want to, like*), verbs of obligation (e.g. *have to, need*), verbs of ability (e.g. *be able to*) as well as other sources (e.g. *try to, look for, then, just now, soon*). The process of assigning a grammatical function to a lexical word is known as grammaticalization. According to Al-Hafiz (2005:65), the concept was first introduced by Meillet

in 1912 in his discussion of the processes by which grammatical forms develop. Traugott (1995:2) states that Meillet defines grammaticalization as “the passage of an autonomous word into the role of grammatical element”. Researchers (e.g. Heine et al. 1991; Hopper and Traugott 2003; Bybee et al. 1994) have identified common pathways with which the grammaticalization of future markers occurs cross-linguistically. For example, Bybee et al. (1994:240) explain that verbs of movement, obligation and desire develop through time to express intention and then they further adopt a grammatical meaning of future. This chain is simplified in Figure 5.3.

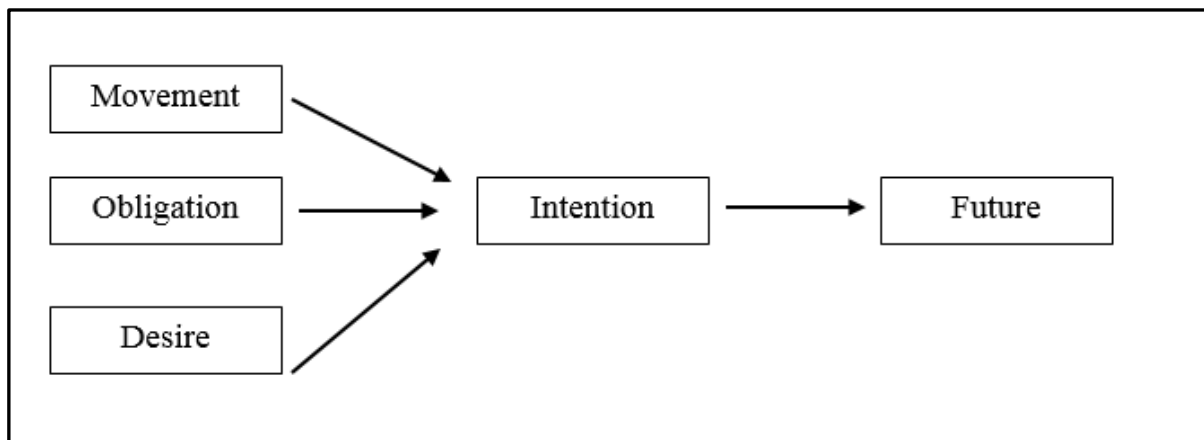


Figure 5.3: pathways of the development of future markers across languages (Adapted from Bybee et al. 1994:240)

The English future auxiliary *will*, for example, is recognized to have begun as a lexical verb in Old English with the meaning “to wish”, “to intend” and “to will” (Warner 1993: 167). Warner clarifies that there was some use of *will* in Old English to express volition and futurity as can be seen in (26).

(26)

- a. Hwīlcne hafoc wilt þu habban?
‘Which hawk do you want to have?’
- b. Ic wāt soþlice hwæt þeos axung bion wile
‘I know indeed what this question will be’

(From Fehringer and Corrigan 2015:5)

A gradual change in the use of *will* took place until it eventually lost its meaning of desire and became less frequently used to indicate volition during the Late Modern English period (Warner 1993:168-181). In contemporary English, *will* is used as an auxiliary that expresses future tense.

Equally, the future marker *badd* “to want” which is used in Levantine dialects (Jarad 2013:73) is described to have developed through a grammaticalization process. Jarad (2013:73-74) explains that the verb *badd* is derived from the SA verbal noun *bi-wudd-i* “I want to” (as in (27)).

- (27)
- | | | | | |
|------------------------------|----------------------|-----------|-------------|---------|
| bi-wudd-i | [_{CP} ?ann | ?a-kul-a | tuffāhat-an | al-?ān] |
| want-I | that | I-eat-SUB | apple-ACC | now |
| 'I want to eat an apple now' | | | | |

The observation that *badd* can have NP objects (28a) and VP complements (28b) along with the fact that the negation marker *ma* can precede it to express sentential negation (28c) confirm that *baad* functions as a verb in Levantine dialects.

- (28)
- | | | | | |
|----|---------------------|--|-------|----------|
| a. | badd-o | | [NP | tuffaħa] |
| | want-he | | apple | |
| | 'He wants an apple' | | | |
-
- | | | | | |
|----|----------------------------|-----|--------|----------|
| b. | badd-o | [VP | ya:kul | tuffaħa] |
| | want-he | | eat | apple |
| | 'He wants to eat an apple' | | | |
-
- | | | | | |
|----|---------------------------|--------|---------|---------|
| c. | ma: | badd-i | sayyara | ʕati:ʔa |
| | NEG | want-I | car | old |
| | 'I don't want an old car' | | | |

(From Jarad 2013:73)

Jarad (2013:78-81) explains that the future b-prefix in Levantine Arabic has developed through the pathway (*bi-wudi* > *badd*). He (2013:79-80) states that:

“The first stage in the development of (*b-*) as a future marker is that the verbal noun *bi-wudd-i* is bleached out of its semantic content. This amounts to saying that *bi-wudd-i* lost its argument structure, i.e. as a lexical verbal noun *bi-wudd-i* had argument structure, and when it became a functional element, it lost its argument structure.”

In the second stage, the preposition ‘*bi*’ and the verbal noun ‘*wudd*’ were fused to form the lexicalized verb of volition *badd/bidd*. The process included dropping the glide /w/ because it

occurred following the vowel in ‘bi’. This resulted in having the vowel /u/ following the vowel in /bi/, a situation that requires deleting the /u/ as per an Arabic phonotactics rule that disfavors the co-occurrence of more than two vowels in a row (Jarad 2013:79-80). The lexeme *badd/bidd* then grammaticalized into a prefix with its meaning gradually narrowing to refer to intentionality.

The b-prefix in GA dialects is also described to have developed from the lexical verb *yabi/baka* ‘to want’ (Holes 1990, 2004; Ingham 1994; Al-Bahri 2014). The prefix is derived from the SA lexical verb *ʔabʔi* ‘I want’ (Holes 1990:188). This verb has evolved into *ʔabi* ‘I want’ in dialects like Kuwaiti Arabic (Al-Najjar 1991:666-667) and *ʔabba* ‘I want’ as in Baharna dialects (Holes 2004:247). It was then reduced to /ba-/and /bi-/ which Holes confirms to have lost their volitional meaning in the Gulf littoral and to be indicative of intention. Conversely, the lexical verb *ʔabi/ʔabʔi* ‘I would like to’ continues to be used, and preserves its original meaning of wanting.

The future particles *raħ* and /ħa-/ have also been noted to undergo a grammaticalization process through which they evolved from the SA motion verb *raħ* ‘went’ (see example (29)) to a future particle expressing intention (Alshboul, Al Shboul and Alsassfeh 2010; Jarad 2014).³⁶

(29)

- | | | | | |
|---|---|---|-----------------|-------------------------------|
| a. <i>raħ-a</i>
went-he | <i>ʔal-ʔab-u</i>
the-father-NOM | <i>li-l-ʕamal-i</i>
to-the-work-GEN | | |
| ‘The father went to work’ | | | | |
| b. <i>raħ-a</i>
went-they | <i>ʔal-ʔatʕfa:l-u</i>
the-children-NOM | <i>li-yaʕab-u:</i>
to-play-masc.pl.SUB | <i>fi</i>
in | <i>l-ħadi:qah</i>
the-park |
| ‘The children went to play in the park’ | | | | |

Jarad (2014:106) clarifies that the particle *raħ* is common in spoken varieties of Arabic including the Gulf varieties. He mentions that *raħ* can be used as an active present participle *ra:yiħ* ‘going’ or as a future particle with the variants *raħ*, and /ħa-/ , which are derived from the present participle form. Example (30) illustrates the use of these variants.

³⁶ Note that while case is not marked in the examples of dialectal Arabic, case-marking is crucial in SA as seen in example (30) onwards.

(30)

- | | | | | |
|----------------------------|--------------------|-----------|----------|---------------------|
| a. ʕali | ra:yih | l-be:t | | [active participle] |
| Ali | going | the-house | | |
| 'Ali is going home' | | | | |
| b. ʕali | rah | y-sa:ʕir | bukrah | [future particle] |
| Ali | will | he-travel | tomorrow | |
| 'Ali will travel tomorrow' | | | | |
| c. ʕali | ha-y-sa:ʕir | | bukrah | [future prefix] |
| Ali | will-he-travel | | tomorrow | |
| 'Ali will travel tomorrow' | | | | |

Furthermore, Jarad (2014:106) confirms that *rah* has transitioned from having a lexical meaning of spatial movement to acquiring a grammatical meaning of futurity. He refers to examples like (31) where the particle *rah* co-occurs with its lexical counterpart.

(31)

- | | | | | |
|-----------------------------------|------|--------|-----------|----------|
| (ʔana) | rah | ʔa-rūh | be:t-ha | bukrah |
| I | will | I-go | house-her | tomorrow |
| "I will go to her house tomorrow" | | | | |

Jarad (2014:110) argues that the future particle *rah* was produced through a sub-process of grammaticalization called decategoralization which Hopper and Traugott (2003:107) define as the change from a lexical form to a grammatical one. Jarad (2014:108-111) reveals that the use of *rah* as a future marker followed the pathway illustrated in Figure 5.4. He affirms that the grammaticalization of the verb *rah* did not lead to replacing the lexical form. Instead, it added a new use.

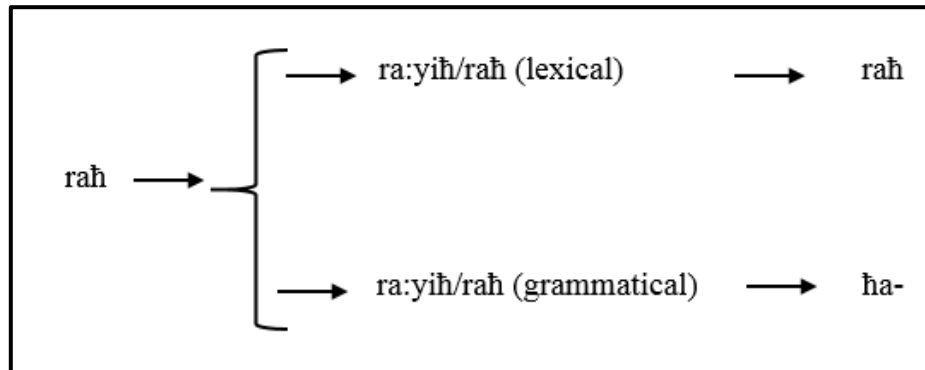


Figure 5.4: the grammaticalization of *rah* 'to go' into a future particle (Jarad 2014:111)

As mentioned in (5.2.2.1), [ha-] is a variant for the Egyptian Arabic future prefix /ħa-/ (Abdel-Hafiz 2005). This variant is also reported to be used in some dialects of Oman (Holes 2011b:489). The /ħa-/, which derives originally from *raħ*, could be interpreted to further undergo a phonological process of lenition that renders it as [ha-]. Bybee and Pagliuca (1985:76) acknowledge that as lexical forms undergo grammaticalization, their meanings become more general, and their frequencies increase. This makes them more susceptible to phonological processes like reduction and fusion. Bybee (2007:965) explains that reduced grammaticalized sequences usually require “less muscular effort”. Thus, the lenition of the /ħ/ to [h] in the future prefix /ħa-/ is an expected development of the grammaticalized form. Given that grammaticalized forms are usually functional items, they tend to be used with high frequency. The regular use of these items means that they can be pronounced with more speed than lexical categories. Thus, speed can be interpreted as a source for the lenition reported in *raħ>ħa->ha-*.

With a wealth of knowledge regarding the development of the different future markers in the Arabic dialects, the following section elaborates on the marker used in ND.

5.2.2.3 The future marker in ND

5.2.2.3.1 The variants

Several researchers have highlighted the future markers in the Omani dialects. Holes (2011b:489) states that Omani dialects indicate proximate intent via the use of /ba-/ and /ha-/. Likewise, Persson (2008:38) confirms the use of the /ħ-/ variant in villages neighboring Nizwa and she (2008:31) also refers to Brockett’s (1985) study of the Al-Khabourah³⁷ town where the particle *raħ* is used. In Muscat dialect, the prefix /ba-/ is used to connote future (Glover 1988:226), but the particle *raħ* is not uncommon nowadays, as confirmed by the pilot study and personal observation as a native speaker. Indeed, Persson (2008:36) reports the fact that the particle *raħ* occurs in her data drawn from the speech of young Omanis in Muscat.

³⁷ Al-Khabourah is a town in the coastal line between Muscat and Sohar in the Al-Batina Governorate.

However, I am unaware of any scholarship that addresses the dynamics of the future markers in the ND. This variety marks futurity using a prefix with a glottal stop /ʔa-/. This same prefix in SA as well as in the dialects marks the first-person singular, as exemplified in (32).

(32)

- a. (ʔana) **ʔa-mʃi** li-l-madrasat-i kula yaum [SA]
 I **1p.sg-walk** to-the-school-GEN every day
 ‘I walk to school every day’
- b. (ʔana) **ʔa-ru:h** l-l-madrasah **ʔa-mʃi** kil yo:m [ND]
 I **1p.sg-go** to-the-school **1p.sg-walk** every day
 ‘I go to school walking every day’

It is an idiosyncratic feature of ND to use this prefix as a future marker. The prefix is attached to imperfective verbs, and it can be used with all speakers regardless of number and gender. Example (33) clarifies this use.

(33)

- a. ʃali **ʔa-y-ru:h** l-be:t
 Ali **will-he-go** the-house
 ‘Ali will go home’
- b. hnu:h **ʔa-n-ru:h** l-be:t
 We **will-we-go** the-house
 ‘We will go home’
- c. hum **ʔa-y-ru:hu** l-be:t
 They.masc. **will-they-go** the-house
 ‘They (masc.) will go home’
- d. hin **ʔa-y-ru:han** l-be:t
 They.fem. **will-the-go** the-house
 ‘They (fem.) will go home’
- e. ʔana **ʔa-ru:h** l-be:t
 I **I.will-go** the-house
 ‘I will go home’

Furthermore, example (34) illustrates that the future prefix in ND is used to indicate both near and remote future.

(34)

- | | | | |
|-----------------------------------|------------|---------------|--------------------|
| a. ʕali | ʔa-y-ru:ḥ | l-l-madrasah | (bukrah) |
| Ali | will-he-go | to-the-school | tomorrow |
| ‘Ali will go to school tomorrow’ | | | |
| b. ʕali | ʔa-y-ru:ḥ | l-l-madrasah | (s-sanah l-ga:yah) |
| Ali | will-he-go | to-the-school | the-year the-next |
| ‘Ali will go to school next year’ | | | |

As can be seen in the examples in (34), adverbs like *tomorrow* and *next year* can be used or not depending on the context of the speech. The future prefix /ʔa-/ can still be used to refer to events that will happen in the near or distant future without the need for a specifying adverb.

As for the development of the ND future marker /ʔa-/, the above observations show that this prefix is not different from the other dialectical future markers discussed in (5.2.2.1) in its meaning and use. In fact, the observation that it can be similar to *raḥ* in signalling immediate and distal future suggests that it can be related to it. As clarified in (5.2.2.2), *raḥ* has evolved into the future particles /ḥa-/ and /ha-/. The discussion in (5.2.2.2) also shows that the frequent use of a grammaticalized form makes it vulnerable for phonological reduction (Bybee and Pagliuca 1985:76), so they would be produced with minimum effort (Bybee 2007: 965). Consequently, it becomes a well-motivated proposal that the ND marker /ʔa-/ is a further development of the marker /ḥa-/. Evidence reveals that the particle /ḥa/ is used in villages around Nizwa. Persson (2008:32) refers to Reinhardt’s (1984:149) documentation of the use of /ḥa-/ in Oman, and she mentions that speakers use it in villages near Nizwa. My observations confirm that speakers from the village of Taymsa use this variant. This indicates that the prefix /ḥa-/ could have been part of the ND as well. As mentioned in (5.2.2.2), /ḥa-/underwent a lenition process which changed it into /ha-/. It could then be proposed that further development of this particle from /ḥa-/ to /ʔa-/ occurred in Nizwa.

It is reasonable to question though whether the change of /h/ to the glottal stop [ʔ] is acceptable. In his discussion of whether certain phonological changes are implausible, Honeybone (2016:318) writes that since “there are [established] expected pathways for change, then there are also unexpected pathways of change”. He refers to the set of expected pathways depicted in Figure 5.5, which are provided in Trask (1996:53-65).

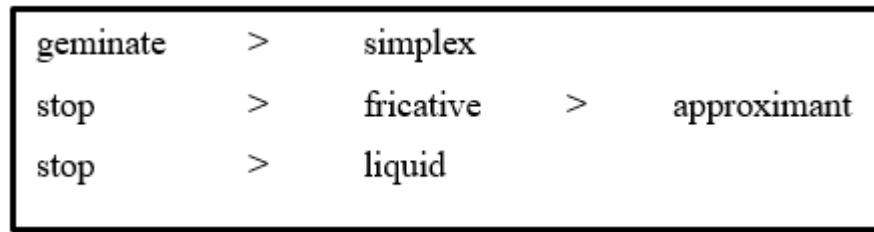


Figure 5.5: expected the expected pathways of phonological changes (From Honeybone 2016: 318)

Honeybone (2016:351) supports that a change is ruled to be impossible if no candidate example for it is found in the language history and vice versa. Therefore, the proposal of the change of the future prefix from /ha-/ to /ʔa-/ in ND has to be validated with a similar process elsewhere in the history of Arabic which is indeed the case. Al-Jallad (2018) discusses the stages of the development of Arabic, and he refers to inscriptions of Ancient North Arabian. Al-Jallad (2018:320-321) confirms that the Dādanitic script of the ancient oasis of Dadān³⁸ highlights that the stems of some of these dialects have h-prefix instead of the modern-day Arabic ʔ-prefix, so they have *ha-ʔala* as opposed to *ʔa-ʔala* ‘I do’. According to Al-Jallad, this indicates that during the course of its development, “Proto-Arabic seems to have undergone the change /h/ > [ʔ] in this verb form”. Similarly, Macdonald (2000:41-55) uses inscriptions to report on varieties of Ancient North Arabian dialects that used the [hn-] prefix in place of the definite article /ʔl-/ in contemporary Arabic. These include Dādanitic, Hasaitic, Safaitic and Hismaic.

Therefore, I argue that such evidence support that the ND future particle /ʔa-/ could have developed from /ha-/ since this is an attested change in the history of Arabic.

5.2.2.3.2 *The variation*

As evident from personal observations as well as the pilot study, speakers of ND tend to disfavor using the prefix /ʔa-/ to indicate future when they migrate to Muscat. This can be partially explained by the fact that this prefix usually refers to the first-person agreement marker that attaches to

³⁸ In modern day, Dadān is in the area of al-ʕUlā in north-west Saudi Arabia. Dadān was an important center on the caravan route bringing frankincense from ancient South Arabia to Egypt, the Levant and the Mediterranean (The Online Corpus of the Inscriptions of Ancient North Arabia website).

imperfective verbs to express habitual aspect. Using it to express future can be confusing to interlocutors who are not familiar with this meaning in ND. Example (35) (which is based on personal encounters) demonstrates how misunderstanding can arise when the future particle is used, and no adverbs are present to specify the time of the events.

(35)

- | | | | | |
|----|--------|-----------------------------|----------------|------------------|
| a. | (ʔana) | ʔa -ru:ḥ | l-maktabah | [habitual event] |
| | (I) | I -go | to-the-library | |
| | | ‘I go to the library’ | | |
| | | | | |
| b. | (ʔana) | ʔa -ru:ḥ | l-maktabah | [future event] |
| | (I) | FUT.I -go | to-the-library | |
| | | ‘I am going to the library’ | | |

The sentence in (35a) is used when somebody is talking about an event that s/he does habitually, as in ‘I usually go to the library’. The sentence in (35b) can be used by someone who is planning to go to the library, so it would mean ‘I am going to the library now/in a while’ etc. Without explicit contextualization cues, non-Nizwa interlocutors can miss the future reading in (35b). Those interlocutors would interpret the prefix [ʔa-] in *ʔa*-ru:ḥ ‘am going’ as a first-person marker *I*. Therefore, they would assume that the speaker is referring to an event that s/he does regularly. Thus, to avoid confusion, migrants tend to replace the Nizwa future allomorph with the other dialectal variants (i.e the supralocal variants /*ba*-/ or *rah*) as in (36).

(36)

- | | | | |
|----|--------|-----------------------------|----------------|
| a. | (ʔana) | ba -ru:ḥ | l-maktabah |
| | (I) | FUT.I -go | to-the-library |
| | | ‘I am going to the library’ | |
| | | | |
| b. | (ʔana) | rah -ru:ḥ | l-maktabah |
| | (I) | FUT.I -go | to-the-library |
| | | ‘I am going to the library’ | |

5.2.2.3.3 *The linguistic conditions*

This study examines whether the variation available in the Muscat area is affected by the linguistic conditions of proximity in the future, grammatical subject and animacy in the future. These factors are discussed in detail below.

5.2.2.3.3.1 Proximity in the future

First, I examine the effect of proximity in the future. Research on the variable use of the English future markers *will* and *going to* classifies *going to* during its earlier stages of grammaticalization as a marker for proximate future (Tagliamonte et al. 2014:79). However, opposing findings are reported by Poplack and Tagliamonte (2000:329-333). They examined the variation in the use of the future markers by speakers of African American Vernacular English from five communities and found no systematic use of *going to* for indicating proximate or distal future. They discovered that only one of the communities associates *going to* with immediate future. Similarly, Torres-Cacoullos and Walker (2009:329-330) investigate the use of the English future markers by Canadian native speakers of English and conclude there is no clear link between temporal proximity and use of future variants. Additionally, Fehring and Corrigan's (2015:213-214) examination of the use of the English future variants *will* and *going to* in Tyneside English involves analyzing speech in a diachronic corpus of North-Eastern English known as Diachronic Electronic Corpus of Tyneside English or DECTE (Corrigan et al. 2012). This study reveals that *will* is associated with distal future in the older data. However, there is no preference for *will* or *going to* for expressing the proximity of the future in recent data.

These studies agree that generally, *will* and *going to* have no preference regarding proximity in the future which indicates that the grammaticalization of these variants has advanced, so that they are now used with no specific temporal meaning. Such information needs to be uncovered for the use of the different variants of the dialectal Arabic future markers /ʔa-/, /ba-/ and *rah*. As the discussion in (5.2.2.3.1) shows, the Nizwa variant /ʔa-/ is used with near and far events. While the newly adopted variant *rah* is reported by Jarad (2014:107) also to be used in these contexts, this observation applies in the case of Levantine Arabic. Moreover, further research is required to confirm its presence in GA more generally and among the group of Nizwa migrants in Muscat.

I also consider events that would be neither in the imminent nor the distal future. Such occurrences are part of the conditional *if*-clauses, and their usage depends on the occurrence of another event. According to Persson (2208:27), the b-prefix in GA is “widely used in conditional clauses, mainly in the apodosis (result clause), but also in the protasis (*if*-clause) without any apparent temporal implications”. In English, Torres-Cacoulllos and Walker (2009:341) report that *will* is used in the apodosis context and they state this use indicates uncertainty. The study conducted by Fehringer and Corrigan (2015:215) also confirms the preference of *will* in the apodosis of *if*-clauses from their older north-eastern data. However, speakers in the twenty-first century sub-corpus demonstrate no significant preference for use in this context.

In the light of such observations, a distinction is made between near and distal future and conditional context. I followed Poplack and Tagliamonte’s (2000) and Fehringer and Corrigan’s (2015) method in distinguishing between near-future and far-future events. Events that would occur within a month of the interview were labelled “near-future”, whereas those taking place more than a month from the time of the speech were labelled “far”. Events occurring within an *if*-clause were labelled “conditional event”. Undertaking this task will help uncover whether the migrants of Nizwa link the particles /ʔa-/ , /ba-/ and *rah* to certain temporal contexts.

5.2.2.3.3.2 Grammatical subject

Several studies have investigated the effect of the grammatical subject on the choice of the future marker in English (e.g. Poplack and Tagliamonte 2000; Tagliamonte 2002; Tagliamonte et al. 2014; Fehringer and Corrigan 2015). According to Tagliamonte et al. (2014:92), *going to* is reported to be preferred with second-person and third-person subjects. Furthermore, Torres-Cacoulllos and Walker (2009:331-332) mention that *will* (and its contracted variant *'ll*) is favored with first-person. Tagliamonte (2002:749-750) explains that this variation is attributed to the observations that first-person subjects tend to be associated with volition more than other grammatical persons and this is “a reading said to be associated with *will*”. Nevertheless, Poplack and Tagliamonte (2000:335) reveal that in their data of African American English, *will* is no longer favored by first-person and that it appears with all other grammatical subjects. With regard to British English, Fehringer and Corrigan (2015) report that while *will* was dominant and appeared

with all grammatical subjects in Tyneside English during the 1960s-1970s, the rise of the use of *going to* by the 2000s is associated with a stronger correlation of *will* with first-person subjects.

Given that the ND future marker [ʔa-] also functions as a first-person marker (see 5.2.2.3.1), it becomes necessary to examine whether the change in the use of the future marker by migrants in Muscat would happen in the contexts with first-person subjects more than the other subjects. Furthermore, it is crucial to uncover whether speakers tend to prefer particular variants ([ʔa-], [ba-], *rah*) with specific grammatical subjects. The data generated by this study included the following subjects: first-person singular, first-person plural, second-person singular, second-person plural, third-person singular and third-person plural.

5.2.2.3.3.3 Animacy of the subject

Another linguistic factor that was taken into consideration when testing the variable use of the future markers was whether the subject is animate or not. Tagliamonte et al. (2014:78) clarify that the English future marker *going to* was used initially with subjects capable of moving and having intention until it fully grammaticalized to end up “occurring with inanimate subjects and stative verbs”. They suggest that the development of the animacy constraint of *be going to* followed the prediction offered in Table 5.2.

	Early stage	Late stage	Change
Animacy	Animate favor	Animate= Inanimate	Expansion into inanimate contexts

Table 5.2: predictions for stages of the grammaticalization of *be going to* (From Tagliamonte et al. 2014:89)

Bybee et al. (1994:5) have also verified that prior to its grammaticalization, *going to* indicated that a subject is moving in a path towards a goal. After it was grammaticalized, however, the requirement of having a moving subject was lost, and the future marker became general in its meaning, and it could have any subjects, including those which are incapable of movement. Additionally, Poplack and Tagliamonte (2000:335) report that in their African American English data which was obtained from speakers in Ottawa, *going to* is preferred with non-human subjects. However, this preference is not shared by the remaining communities in their data as *going to* is neutralized to animate and inanimate subjects. Likewise, Fehringer and Corrigan (2015:15) report

no effect for the animacy of the subject in the speakers' choices of *will* and *going to* in the DECTE corpus.

In Arabic, the dialectal future particle *rah* is reported to have developed from the movement verb *rah* 'to go', and the prefix /ba-/ has evolved from a verb of volition (see 5.2.2.2). Accordingly, it would be expected that these particles might have a preference for animate subjects. Thus, this study has examined whether the Nizwa migrants in Muscat make a distinction between the future variants at their disposal ([ʔa-], [ba-], *rah*) and link any one of them with animate/inanimate subjects. It is worth noting, however, that the data for this study included only human animate subjects. Therefore, the subjects were classified as "human" and "non-human".

The following section explores the syntactic variable of *yes/no* question clitics.

5.3 The syntactic variable: *yes/no* question clitics

Heuven and Haan (2000:121) state that questions terminate with a rising pitch cross-linguistically. They report on Herman's (1942) study, in which he surveys 177 languages to examine their question intonation patterns to discover that "interrogativity is always signalled by high pitch somewhere in the utterance" (Heuven and Haan 2000:4). However, it should also be noted that there are language and dialect specific intonational features and that speakers' style, mood and attitude also influence their use of intonation (Hirst and Di Cristo 1998:2). For example, Britain and Newman (1992:1) report on the use of High Rising Terminal (HRT) intonation contours in declarative statements despite it being considered a feature of interrogative statements. This use is reported in several varieties of English, including Australian English (Guy and Vonwiller 1984; Fletcher and Harrington 2001); New Zealand English (Allen 1990; Britain 1992; Warren 2005); Canadian English (James et al. 1989; Shokeir 2008), British English (Jarman and Cruttenden 1976; Bradford 1997; Sullivan 2012) and English in the US (Tarone 1973; Chinge 1982; Armstrong et al. 2015). Britain and Newman (199:1) clarify that the use of HRTs is linked to the effect of similar sociolinguistic predictors across these varieties since gender, age and socioeconomic class have a strong correlation with the use of HRTs; namely, women and younger speakers use HRTs more often than men and older speakers. Conversely, people of the higher socioeconomic class are less likely to use HRTs.

In ND, all types of question are marked with a final rising pitch. However, unlike the majority of

Arabic dialects, ND also marks its affirmative *yes/no* questions with clitics that are added to these constructions to make them interrogative as clarified in the next section.

5.3.1 The *yes/no* question clitics in ND

According to Holes (2011b:482), Sedentary dialects of OA attach the particle /-ə/ to *yes/no* questions, and it can be attached to the question word or phrase. This particle is also found in Bahraini Sedentary dialects (Holes 2011b:485). In Oman, the particle surfaces as /-əh/ when it follows a consonant or /-yə/ when following a vowel. Examples of the use of these *yes/no* question clitics in ND are provided in (37).

(37)

- | | | | | |
|--|--------------|--------------|--|--|
| a. bass-ak- əh↑? | | | | |
| enough-you.masc.sg-Q | | | | |
| ‘Have you (masc.sg) had enough?’ | | | | |
| | | | | |
| b. katab-t-əh | l-wa:gub↑? | | | |
| wrote-you.masc.sg-Q | the-homework | | | |
| ‘Did you (masc. sg) write the homework?’ | | | | |
| | | | | |
| c. ruḥ-ti-yə | l-madrasah↑? | | | |
| went- you.fem.sg-Q | the school | | | |
| ‘Did you (fem. sg) go to school?’ | | | | |
| | | | | |
| d. fuf-ti-yə | s-siya:rah | l-gadi:dah↑? | | |
| saw- you.fem.sg-Q | the car | the-new | | |
| ‘Did you (fem. sg) see the new car?’ | | | | |

However, it is important to note that not all Sedentary Omani dialects have this feature. For example, these clitics are not used by speakers of MA as confirmed by this study’s ethnographic observations.

In ND, these clitics do not accommodate a single position in the *yes/no* question frame. Instead, they can be attached to verbs, nouns or even other forms (e.g. pronouns and demonstratives) depending on the emphasis of the question. For example, the particle in the question in (37b) is attached to the verb *katab-t-əh* ‘wrote’ because the purpose of the enquiry is to check whether the interlocutor did the writing. Similarly, the particle is attached to the verb in (37c) *ruḥ-ti-yə* ‘went’ because the question is asked to verify whether the interlocutor did go. These questions can be

asked for different purposes where the clitics are attached to the object of the verbs as illustrated in (38).

(38)

a. katab-t l-wa:gub-əh↑?
 wrote-you.masc.sg the-homework-Q
 ‘Was it the homework you (mas. sg) wrote?’

b. ruḥ-ti l-madras-əh↑?
 went- you.fem.sg the school-Q
 ‘Was it the school you (fem. sg) went to?’

The emphasis of the question in (38a) is not on whether the writing was done. Instead, the speaker is asking whether it was the *homework* that was written as opposed to a different piece of writing. Likewise, in (38b), the speaker wants to discover whether it was the *school* to which the interlocutor went and not somewhere else.

It should be noted that Holes’ (2011:482) report on the use of /-ə/ in OA generalizes its use to all types of *yes/no* question. However, a thorough observation of these clitics reveals that they do not attach to negative *yes/no* questions. Example (39) provides the negated versions of the questions in (37).

(39)

a. ma: bass-ak ↑?
 NEG enough-you.masc.sg Q
 ‘Have you (masc.sg) not had enough?’

b. ma: katab-t l-wa:gub ↑?
 NEG wrote-you.masc.sg the-homework Q
 ‘Did you (masc.sg) not write the homework?’

c. ma: ruḥ-ti l-madrasah ↑?
 NEG went- you.fem.sg the school Q
 ‘Did you (fem.sg) go to school?’

d. ma: fuf-ti s-siya:rah l-gadi:dah ↑?
 NEG saw-you.fem.sg the car the-new Q
 ‘Did you (fem.sg) not see the new car?’

In the questions in (39), the interrogative nature of the statements is highlighted by the use of rising intonation (↑) only and not by the clitics used with the affirmative versions in (37). I thus conclude that these clitics only attach to affirmative *yes/no* questions.

5.3.2 The variation in ND *yes/no* question clitics

When speakers of the ND migrate to Muscat, their configuration of *yes/no* questions changes. As Kallel (2011:52) verifies, “[l]anguage contact can trigger syntactic change, in which case it may lead to the borrowing of certain syntactic features, as it can lead to the loss of other features”. It is indeed the case that a change in the use of affirmative *yes/no* questions appears to be ongoing as witnessed through the observation period of this study. As clarified in (4.3.3), speakers from Nizwa who are settled in Muscat tend to disfavor the use of these clitics, and they mark these questions with rising intonation only, which is the pattern found in other dialects of Arabic. In other words, this change involves the loss of a syntactic unit. Consequently, the interrogative nature of the *yes/no* questions is only expressed using the pragmatic feature of rising intonation. The examples presented in (40) illustrate how Nizwa migrants in Muscat avoid using their local *yes/no* question clitics and instead signal interrogativity by resorting to rising intonation only.

(40)

- a. katab-t-əh l-wa:gub↑? → katab-t l-wa:gub↑?
 wrote-you.masc.sg-Q the-homework wrote-you.masc.sg the-homework
 ‘Did you (mas.sg) write the homework?’
- b. ruḥ-ti-yə l-madrasah↑? → ruḥ-ti l-madrasah↑?
 went- you.fem.sg-Q the school went-you.fem.sg the-school
 ‘Did you (fem. sg) go to school?’

The examination of the variation in using *yes/no* question clitics in ND involves inspecting the clitics’ use in relation to the extra-linguistic variables outlined in CHAPTER 4.

5.3.3 Loss of clitics across languages

The loss of syntactic features is documented in many languages, and is an issue which historical linguists have addressed frequently (e.g. Anderson 1993; David 1998; Crisma and Longobardi 2009). For example, Ingham (2006:77-78) reports on the obligatory use of *ne* as a sentential negation proclitic in English during the 12th and 13th centuries. During the 14th century, *ne* was supplemented with a secondary negation marker *not* which was grammaticalized from the form *nowiht* as explained by Childs et al. (2015:22). Ingham (2006:77-78) clarifies that in time, *ne* weakened until it was lost by early Middle English (1100-1500).

A closely-related example of a variable use of clitics is the ongoing change of French negation (e.g. Ashby 1981; Armstrong and Smith 2002; Meisner 2010; Roberts 2014) which is acknowledged to be motivated by internal and external factors as well. According to Schøsler and Völker (2013:127), the French sentential negation clitic *ne* is undergoing morphosyntactic change. Schøsler and Völker (2013:127-128) refer to Jespersen's (1917) account for the development of negation in French, and they state that:

“[I]nitially, *ne* was the unique pre-verbally placed particle of negation. Later, a number of post-verbal particles of reinforcement like *pas*, *mie* or *point* were grammaticalized and used together with *ne*. In Modern French, the use of *ne* alone is heavily restricted, and *ne-pas* is the standard sentential negation. In modern spoken French, there is a clear tendency to drop *ne*”.

Example (41a) reveals the use of the sentential negation clitic, while (41b) provides the same example with *ne* drop.

(41)

- a. Je **ne** sais **pas**
‘I do not know’
- b. Je **Ø** sais **pas**.
‘I do not know’

(From van Compernelle 2008:317)

Misner (2010: 1944) summarizes the linguistic factors that are reported in previous studies to influence the deletion of the proclitic *ne*. These factors are presented in Table 5.3.

	Subject type	Presence of other clitics	Verb tense	Clause type	Phonological environment
+favors <i>ne</i> realization	lexical	no other clitics between <i>ne</i> and the verb	compound or frequent forms	embedded clause or imperative	intervocalic position
-hinders <i>ne</i> realization	clitic	other clitics (e.g. <i>me, te, y, en</i>) between <i>ne</i> and the verb	simple or rare forms	main clause or declarative	

Table 5.3: linguistic factors affecting the deletion of French negation clitic *ne* (Adapted from Misner 2010:1944).

As clarified in Table 5.3, lexical subjects, the absence of other clitics and verbs with higher frequency or compound ones trigger retention of the clitic *ne*. Furthermore, when *ne* is within embedded or imperative clauses and when it occurs in an intervocalic position, it is less likely to be dropped. Conversely, the opposite conditions result in *ne* deletion.

Furthermore, Misner (2010:1945) reports on the conditioning social factors for *ne* drop as represented in Table 5.4. Older speakers and those with higher social class status and education levels tend to retain *ne* more than their younger, less-educated counterparts. Furthermore, formal contexts like writing and formal speech events are associated with preserving *ne*.

	Age	Social class/ Education	Communication situation
+favors <i>ne</i> realization	old	privileged	formal
-hinders <i>ne</i> realization	young	underprivileged	informal

Table 5.4: social factors affecting the deletion of the French negation clitic *ne* (Adapted from Misner 2010:1945).

Evidently, changes in the use of clitics can be attributed to linguistic and social factors as it is the case with English negation and French negation. Therefore, examining the role of social factors in the changing use of clitics is a crucial task. Consequently, this research has explored the effects of the outlined social factors on the variation of the *yes/no* question clitics in the speech of migrants from Nizwa to Muscat.

5.4 Conclusion

This chapter has reviewed the linguistic variables investigated for this study. The phonological variables associated with labialization and word-onset syncope are analogous to such processes documented in other dialects of Arabic. However, the chapter also demonstrated that the scope of the linguistic conditions for labialization in ND is wider than that observed in other varieties. It revealed that the [+guttural] phonetic group is active in prompting labialization in ND since the glottal consonants (/ʔ/ and /h/) are found to cause labialization in this dialect, but not in others. It also revealed that all short vowels in ND, regardless of their height, are deleted when they occur in unstressed CV syllables in word-onsets.

The chapter also provided a background to the morphological variables of the second-person feminine singular suffix and the future proclitic. While ND marks the second-person feminine singular with /-iʃ/, which is a variant documented in other Arabic dialects, the future prefix /ʔa-/ has not heretofore been demonstrated to function as a future marker in other Arabic dialects. Moreover, while linguistic conditions are documented to affect the variation in the affrication of /k/ in some dialects, no such conditions are considered applicable to the use of the second-person feminine singular suffix in the variety of ND.

At the syntactic level, the *yes/no* question clitics /-ə/ and its variants are attached to affirmative *yes/no* questions in ND. As is the case with clitics in many other languages, an ongoing change in using these clitics causes their variable deletion. The loss of this syntactic feature does not lead to ambiguity as the dialect still retains the cross-linguistic, pragmatic feature of rising intonation that is used to signal interrogation.

The following chapter provides the results of the statistical analysis of the phonological variables.

CHAPTER 6 Results: Phonological Variables

6.0 Introduction

The variable use of the phonological and morpho-syntactic variables is analyzed from a statistical perspective in this chapter and the subsequent one.

For each of these dependent variables, I provide a table which presents the coefficients of the mixed-effects logistic regression model (the estimates, standard errors and p-values). The tables also include information about the number of the recorded tokens and the frequency of the local variant in relation to the independent variables of gender, AoA, speech style and the relevant linguistic conditions in each case. Because the variables of age and LoR are treated as continuous factors (i.e. they do not have sub-groups within them), information about the number of tokens and frequencies of the local variants is excluded from these calculations. The tables also provide information about interactions between the different factors when relevant.

This chapter hones in on analyses of the phonological variables of labialization and syncope. Section (6.1) presents the results for vowel labialization across the sample. The statistical analysis of the mixed-effects model is provided in (6.1.1) and is then followed by detailed analyses and plots for the influence of the social predictors (6.1.2). Section (6.1.3) reveals the role played by preceding and following consonants on the variation in the use of labialization, which may include /r/, [+emphatic], [+guttural], [+labial] and [+velar], (see 5.1.1.2.2). This section concludes with a detailed discussion of the labialization results (6.1.4).

Similarly, the results for vowel syncope are described in (6.2). Section (6.2.1) presents the mixed-effects model arising from the extra-linguistic and linguistic conditions on syncope. Section (6.2.2) scrutinizes the effects of the social variables and offers graphs to illustrate these effects. In (6.2.3), I refer to the influence of the linguistic conditions of vowel quality and sonority sequence of the preceding and following consonants (see 5.1.2.2). The syncope results are discussed in greater detail in (6.2.4) and the chapter ends with a conclusion (6.3) that sums up the findings.

6.1 Labialization

The data included 5747 tokens for the high vowel /i/ labialization. The statistical analysis shows a general trend (with a rate of 59%) towards speakers diverging from the use of the labialized vowel [u] in favor of the non-labialized variant [i]. The following sections detail the change in this variable.

6.1.1 The mixed-effects logistic regression model

Predictor	Estimates	S.E	Pr(> z)	N	% labialized
Gender					
female (baseline)				2485	36%
male	0.317	0.281	0.26	3289	44%
Age (continuous)	0.022	0.046	0.63		
AoA					
less than 18 years (baseline)				914	55%
between 18-23 years	-0.894	0.436	0.04	3786	37%
older than 23 years	-0.649	0.721	0.37	1049	44%
LoR (continuous)	-0.056	0.029	0.058		
Speech style					
careful (baseline)				1747	37%
casual	0.319	0.066	<0.001	4000	42%
Preceding sound					
/r/ (baseline)				599	48%
[+emphatic]	-0.762	0.145	<0.001	450	32%
[+guttural]	-0.861	0.127	<0.001	796	34%
[+labial]	-0.044	0.136	0.75	456	49%
[+velar]	0.123	0.197	0.53	162	51%
other	-0.436	0.099	<0.001	3279	41%
Following sound					
/r/ (baseline)				919	38%
[+emphatic]	0.840	0.195	<0.001	157	61%
[+guttural]	-0.036	0.094	0.7	1608	42%
[+labial]	0.087	0.090	0.33	2340	41%
[+velar]	-0.351	0.116	0.002	716	36%
other	0.862	0.903	0.34	6	67%
Interactions					
gender x age	-0.011	0.33	0.75		
Intercept	0.281	0.529	0.6		

Table 6.1: the mixed-effects test for the influence of the independent predictors on the use of labialization

Table 6.1 shows the results for the mixed-effects logistic regression model that inspects the use of labialization by Nizwa migrants who are settled in Muscat. In this model, the speaker random-effect is 0.382 and the standard deviation is 0.612. As can be seen by the positive coefficients, more labialization occurs among males, in casual speech style and with velar preceding sounds and labial following sounds. Yet, only AoA, LoR, speech style and preceding and following consonants significantly affect the variation (significant effects are highlighted in boldface). Information is also provided about the interaction between gender and age though it should be noted that there are no significant interactions between the social variables and/or the linguistic variables. The details of this model are discussed in the following sections.

6.1.2 The influence of the social predictors on the use of labialization

6.1.2.1 Gender

The model in Table 6.1 shows that there is a minor difference between males and females in their rates of labialization, as male speakers tend to labialize their high vowel (44%) more than females (36%) who prefer to use the non-labialized vowel [i]. However, this variation is statistically insignificant ($p= 0.26$).

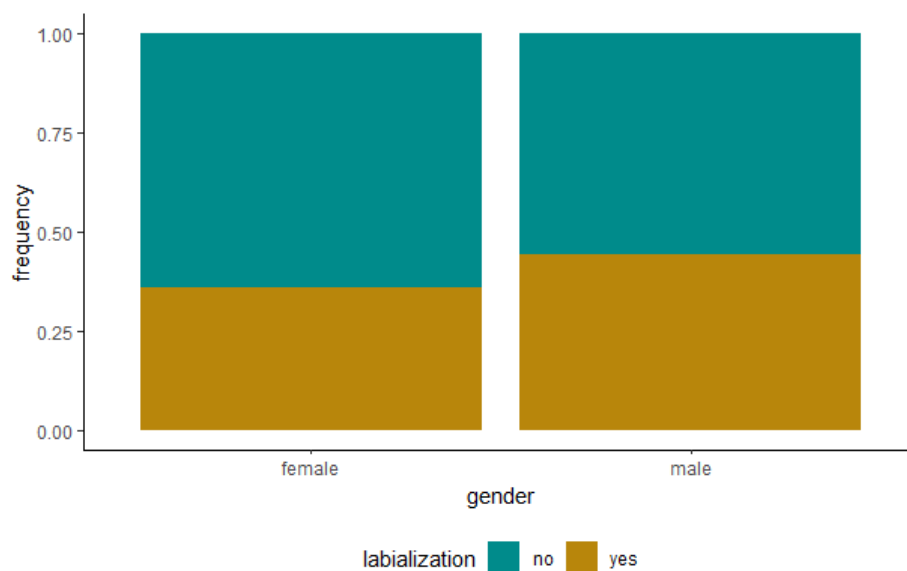


Figure 6.1: the effect of gender on labialization

6.1.2.2 Age

Likewise, age is observed to be statistically insignificant ($p=0.63$) for the change in the use of labialization. Figure 6.2 shows a relatively stable use of this variable across the age-span in the sample (18-50 years) and that the frequency of labialization is less than 50%.

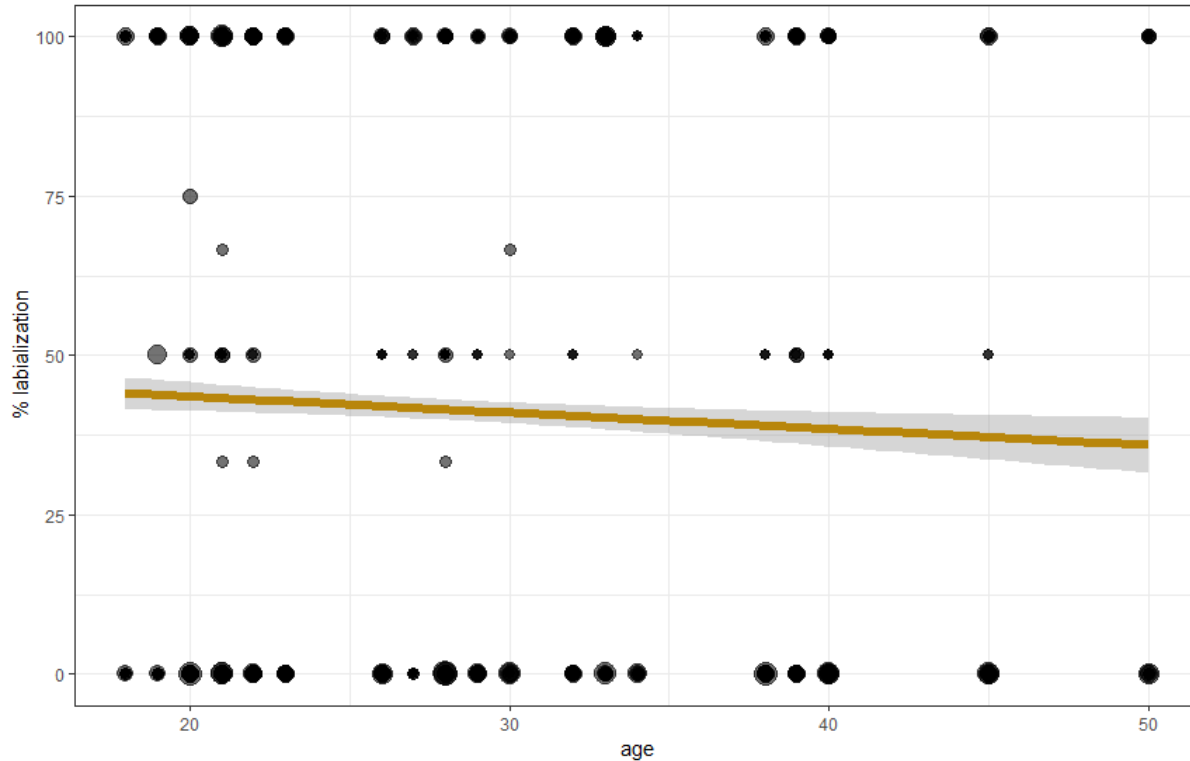


Figure 6.2: the effect of age on labialization

The effect of age and gender on labialization is displayed in Figure 6.3 which illustrates the fact that there are differences in the patterns of male and female labialization usage. Older females are observed to labialize the high vowel more than their younger peers. On the other hand, older males show a decreased use of labialization. Nevertheless, the variation among females and males in relation to age is confirmed by the logistic-regression test to be insignificant ($p>0.05$).

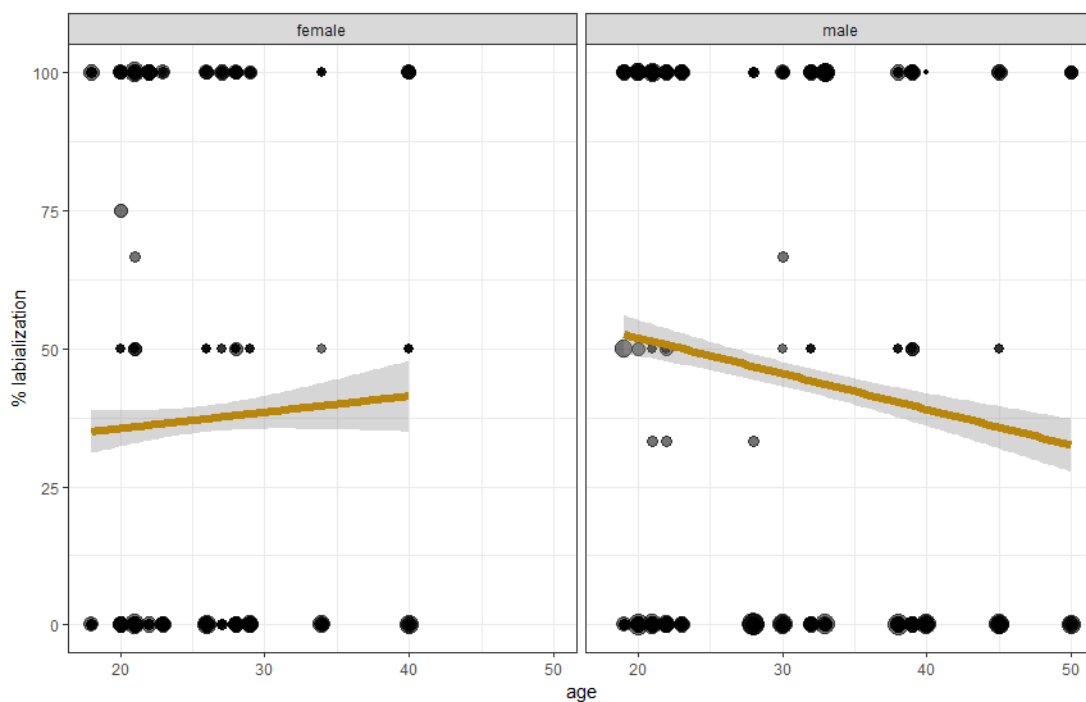


Figure 6.3: the interaction between age and gender in relation to labialization

6.1.2.3 AoA

The effect of AoA on the variation in using labialization is significant for the group whose AoA is between 18 and 23 years (see Figure 6.4).

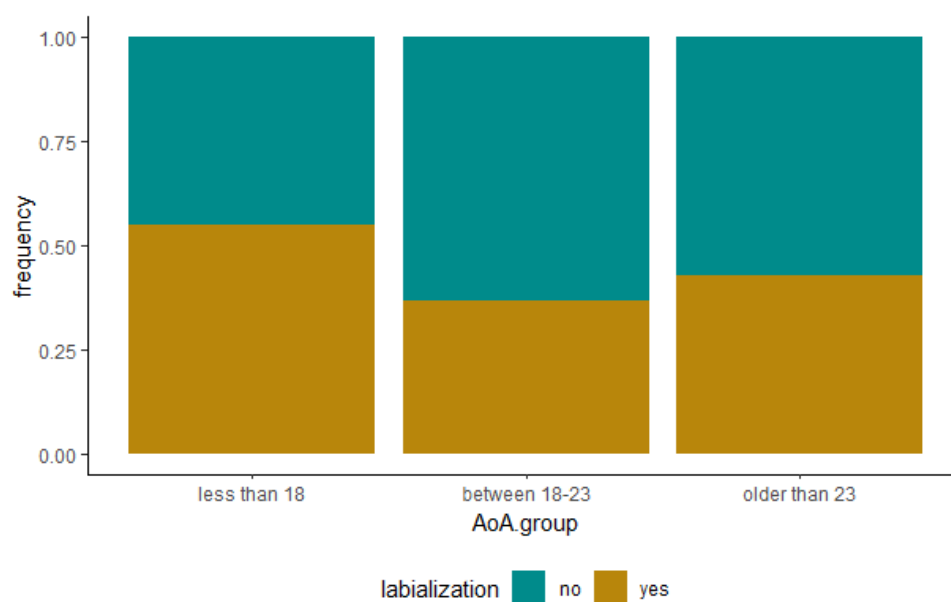


Figure 6.4: the effect of AoA on the use of labialization

It can be understood from Figure 6.4 that the local labialized variant [u] is favored by speakers whose AoA is less than 18 years. On the other hand, older AoA is associated with increased use of the variant [i] and speakers who come to Muscat after high school to study for a degree (i.e. 18-23 years) are the most advanced ones in using this supralocal variant.

6.1.2.4 LoR

Figure 6.5 below illustrates the effect of LoR on the use of labialization which occurs with a rate of less than 50% throughout the different LoRs (1-28 year) and it marginally decreases as LoR is extended. The model in Table 6.1 confirms that the effect of LoR on labialization has a p-value of (0.058). In fact, calculating the mean of the frequency of speakers' use of labialization across the LoR spans shows that there is a big difference between speakers whose LoR is between 1-10 years and those with a LoR of 11 years and above. The mean frequency for vowel labialization in the first ten years of residence is 44%, yet this mean drops to 33% when LoR is 11+ years. Due to such difference, it is difficult to rule out the significance of LoR in the variable use of labialization.

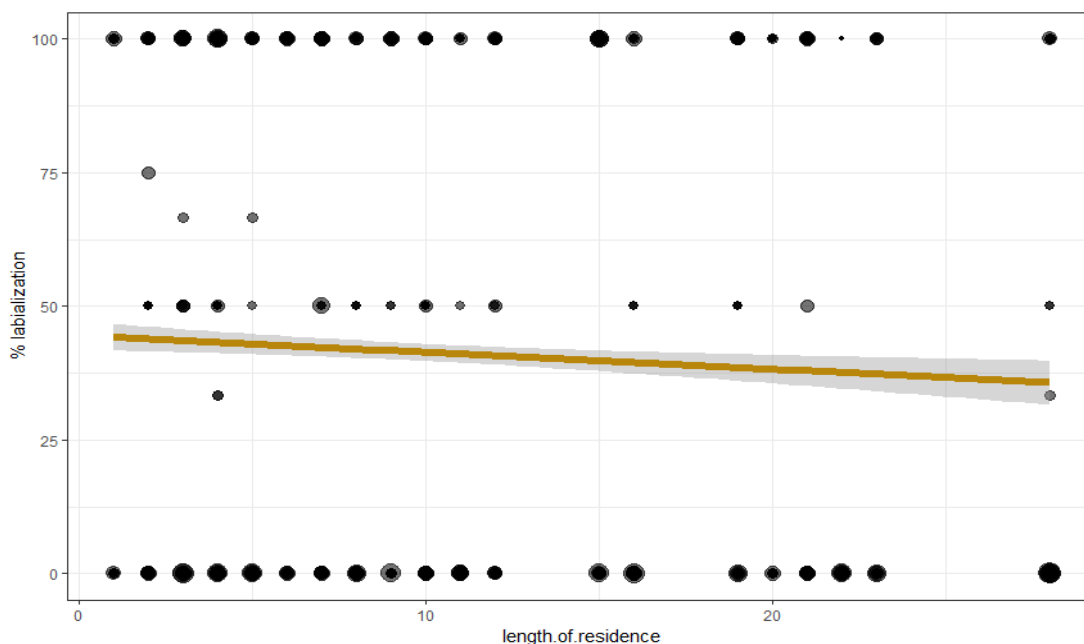


Figure 6.5: the effect of LoR on the use of labialization

6.1.2.5 Speech style

The mixed-effects test yields a significant value for the effect of speech style on labialization ($p < 0.001$). Figure 6.6 demonstrates the fact that the Nizwa migrants tend to labialize the high vowel /i/ in the casual speech style more than the careful one. In the latter, we see that awareness of speech production results in a decreased use of the local labialized variant. Although the difference between the two styles seems to be small in the figure, it is in fact robust since this result is based on nearly 5750 tokens, of which 4000 tokens are casual style ones.

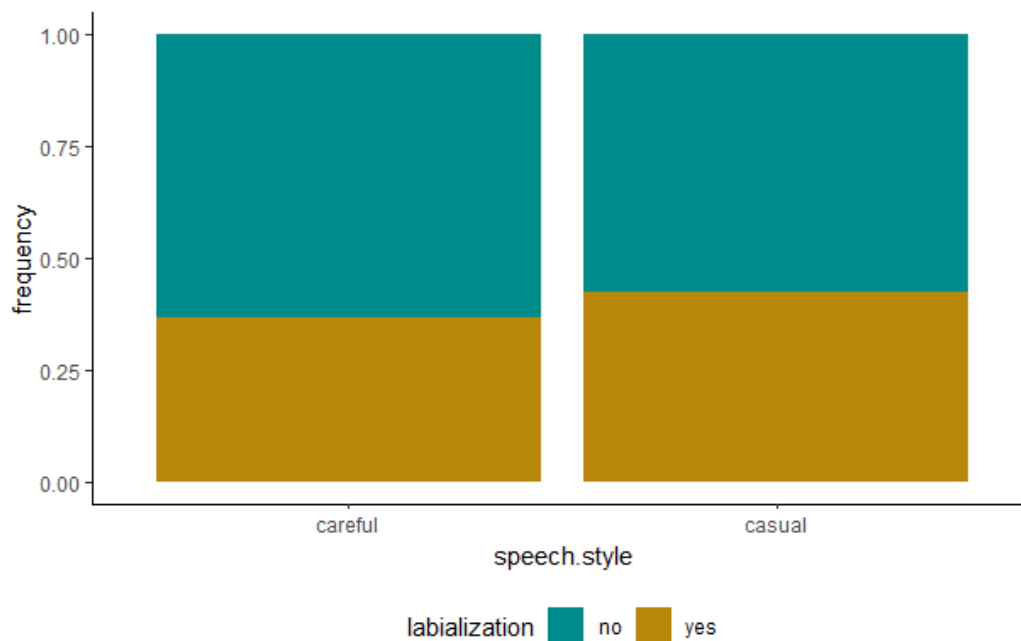


Figure 6.6: the effect of speech style on labialization

A discussion for these interesting results is provided in (6.1.4). Now, I shall analyze the role of the linguistic conditions in the use of labialization.

6.1.3 The influence of the linguistic predictors on the use of labialization

6.1.3.1 Preceding consonant

Table 6.1 reveals a significant effect of the preceding sound for the environments of [+emphatic] and [+guttural]. It is further clarified in Figure 6.7 that preceding emphatic and guttural consonants are the least likely to trigger vowel labialization compared to the environments of /r/, [+labial] and [+velar].³⁹

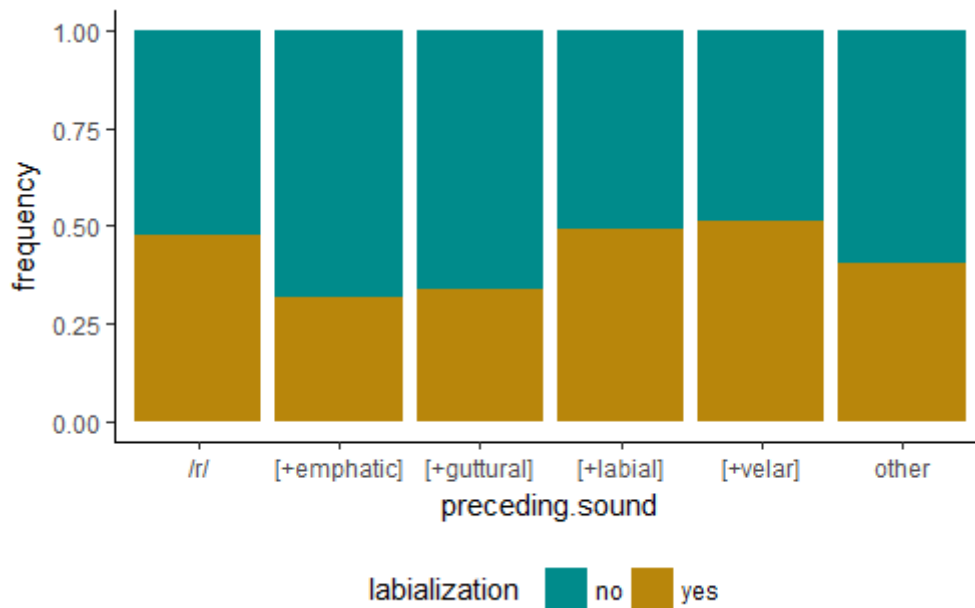


Figure 6.7: the effect of the preceding consonant on the application of labialization

6.1.3.2 Following consonant

The [+emphatic] group continues to be highly influential for the use of labialization when it occurs in the environment of the following sound. However, it has an opposite effect to that attested in the environment of the preceding sound. Figure 6.8 displays that the highest rate of labialization occurs in the following environment of [+emphatic].⁴⁰

³⁹ The category 'other' in Figure 6.7 refers to cases where labialization is affected by a following sound.

⁴⁰ The category 'Other' in Figure 6.8 refers to cases where the labialization is affected by a preceding sound.

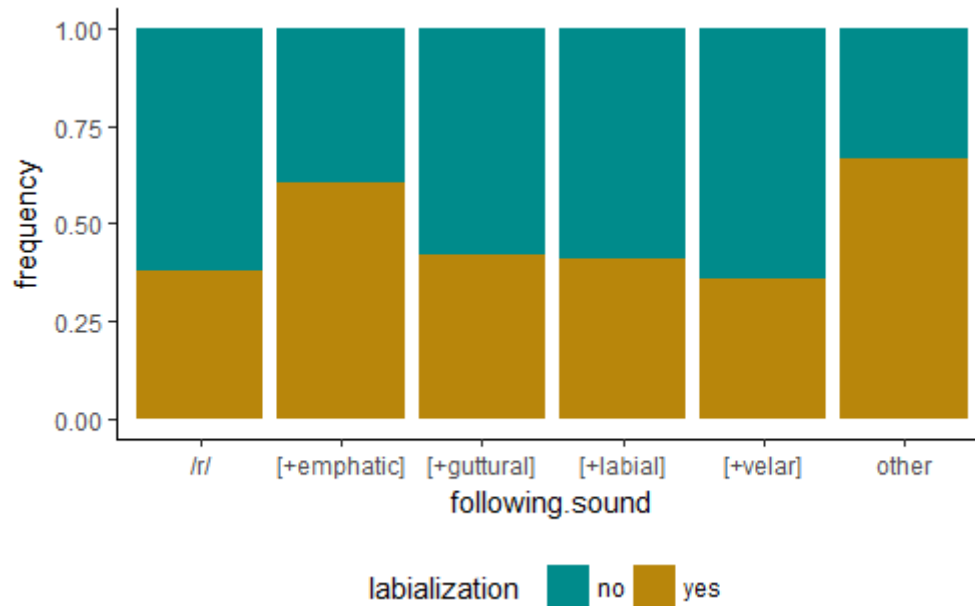


Figure 6.8: the effect of the following consonant on the application of labialization

As seen in Table 6.1, velars also have a significant effect ($p=0.002$) and the above figure clarifies that by comparison to the other potential environments, velar consonants are the least likely to cause labialization when they follow the high vowel /i/. It should be noted here that no significant interactions between preceding and following sounds were found.

To sum up, the statistical assessment of the simultaneous effect of the social and linguistic conditions on the application of the ND rule of labialization shows that AoA, LoR, speech style and the preceding and following consonants are influential predictors of the variation in the labialization choice made by Nizwa migrants. The next section elaborates on these findings.

6.1.4 Labialization discussion

6.1.4.1 The effects of the social constraints

The high frequency of the non-labialized variant over the local, Nizwa labialized type in the data confirms that there is a divergence from this ND feature. In fact, the flat shape displayed in the plot of age and labialization (presented in Figure 6.2) affirms that this is a communal change in progress (see 4.2.2).

The absence of significant gender and age effects on this variation is similar to findings reported by Al-Essa, (2008) for the variation in /-ik/ in Hijazi Arabic (see 2.4.3). This result from ND shows that this divergence occurs across the board and that the males and females have similar dialectal use with respect to labialization irrespective of which generation they belong to. In fact, the patterns of gender and age effects presented by the Nizwa migrants contradict the common findings across other communities which present women and younger speakers as the most advanced users of innovations whereas men and older speakers are the most conservative ones (e.g. Labov 1972a; 2001, Trudgill 1972, Milroy and Milroy 1997, Hoffman and Walker 2010, Smith and Durham 2011, Smith and Holmes-Elliott 2017). This noteworthy finding intensifies Eckert and McConnell-Ginet's (1992:462) view that understanding the role that gender plays in progressing language variation and change across communities requires:

“To think practically... look locally... and to abandon several assumptions common in gender and language studies: that gender can be isolated from other aspects of social identity and relations...”

The same applies to the role of age in this case. Indeed, a thorough look at the speakers' social lives and their relations can shed light on the reason for their shared linguistic behavior. The interaction with speakers of other dialects is a by-product of the urbanization of Muscat and it happens frequently. Undeniably, speakers' involvement in the workplace (i.e. migrants whose AoA is older than 23 years) or in an educational institution (schools for migrants whose AoA is less than 18 years and colleges or university for those whose AoA is 18-23 years)⁴¹ entail that the dialect contact, though varying in degree for such groups, is a necessity and that it is continuous. Thus, the Nizwa migrants are regularly reminded of the stigmatization of their dialect (see 3.3.2.2) which makes them more conscious of their own language use. In fact, during the interview and while

⁴¹ See (4.2.3).

asking questions on language,⁴² all of the participants- women and men, young and old- alluded to these experiences and their need to change their dialect use in inter-dialectal communications to avoid being ridiculed for using the *quḥḥi* ‘pure and local’ ND and to facilitate understanding. This is exemplified by the following comments during the interviews.⁴³

(1)

- a. **SKA** (a 21-year-old female): “There is a big change [in the ND] and I noticed it amongst my generation, especially after we went to different areas to study... Yes, I suppose maybe education and contact with people from other cities play an important role in this change. Yes, it changed a lot; it got affected by other dialects”.
- b. **AH** (a 30-years-old male): “[In Muscat], the use of ND started to decrease. I mean, there are a lot of words that started to drop and maybe some of them disappeared... maybe this is due to mixing with people from other cities. So, there are words that you know if you use them, they will not understand them... and they will find them odd... So, you automatically choose words that suit them”.
- c. **ZY** (a 27-year-old female): “Present generations have changed their dialect a lot... When they come to Muscat, their dialect is largely affected... Maybe because when you talk, people would be like ‘what? What do you mean? I didn’t understand or say again?’. Therefore, [Nizwa] people start using words that are common among other speakers, and that is why their dialect is affected... Likewise, some people would say to you *nti:h quḥḥi-yah* ‘you are local’ because you talk like this [i.e. using ND]. So, you feel... that you want to speak in a modern way”.
- d. **KNS** (a 38-year-old male): “There are changes in the dialect of the young generation. The words and pronunciation of the parents and grandparents have decreased among our generation and the subsequent ones. Some words even disappeared... Maybe this is because of modernization... and sometimes people ridicule and mock you. For example, some people comment on words we say... Also, maybe some people you are talking to do not understand you... So, you have to choose your words and how to say them, so that others would understand you”.

Such statements validate the notion that migrants’ shared social experiences have resulted in views which have influenced their linguistic use. As labialization is a marked feature (see 2.2 and 5.1.1),

⁴² The interview schedule can be found in appendix H.

⁴³ Participants gave their statements in Arabic and the original versions are provided in appendix I. This practice is followed for all such statements throughout this chapter and subsequent ones.

and speakers show an awareness of it (see the discussion below on style effect), speakers become more inclined to avoid it. This results in the collective tendency to avoid labialization regardless of gender or age.

A further interesting finding in the change with respect to labialization is that AoA appears to be critical here. The results show that this complex rule⁴⁴ is, nevertheless, attainable by adults, especially speakers whose AoA is in the 18-23 age bracket as they show the highest rates of the non-labialized vowel sounds. On the other hand, speakers with an early age of exposure to the Muscat dialect (i.e. AoA of less than 18 years) are the most conservative ones as they maintain ND norms. It is reported that the patterns of SDA are distinguishable between early and later acquirers (Chambers 1992:687) with younger AoA being linked to the success in the acquisition of D2 features (Siegel 2010:84). Interestingly, the findings offered here present contradictory but nevertheless compelling results in the opposite direction. These unexpected patterns presented by the Nizwa migrants may be explained by acknowledging that the “age of learning is typically confounded with other variables” (Drummond 2010:50) including the degree of exposure to the D2 (e.g. Payne 1980; Drummond 2010, 2012). Although it is difficult to assess speakers’ degrees of exposure to a dialect with absolute certainty, one of the tried and trusted techniques for addressing this issue is the *social network* approach (Drummond 2012:71).⁴⁵ This approach may well help unlock the societal dynamics that lie behind the outcomes presented here with respect to preferences for labialization. As such, a detailed examination of the social networks which my participants have contracted is given in (8.2.2). In the interim, I offer the following hypotheses which may be relevant:

- Speakers with an AoA that is less than 18 years are primarily surrounded by relatives and involved in kinship networks; thus, most of their contact happens in the local forms of ND. This in turn leads to less exposure and indeed less success in the acquisition of the supralocal variant. This is a very interesting result as it seems to oppose sociolinguistic findings which show that adolescence is the “focal point for linguistic innovation and change” due to social forces that dominate this stage, such as increased independence and solidarity with peers (Tagliamonte 2016:6). However, further discussion on the effect of

⁴⁴ See (8.1.1) for a discussion on rule complexity.

⁴⁵ See (2.5.1) for an overview on social network.

peer-groups on the speech of the early migrants from Nizwa will be provided in (8.2.2) to show that a peer-group effect can still be relevant to this group.

- Individuals who migrate between the ages of 18-23 years are usually involved in an educational program (see 4.2.3). Thus, they tend to interact mostly with speakers of other dialects than ND (e.g. in accommodation, university/college). Therefore, their linguistic behavior is affected by this intensive inter-dialectal contact and they tend to accommodate their speech to their interlocutors. This results in a higher frequency for the supralocal variant amongst this group.
- Speakers who migrate after the age of 23 years have contact with both local and non-local speakers. This is because they could have some relatives (e.g. a spouse, a sibling) living close to them and they also interact with speakers of other dialects at work. Therefore, I hypothesize that such contact patterns result in making this groups' use of the new variant to be in between the AoA categories of less than 18 years and the 18-23 year age group, as seen in Figure 6.4 (see 8.2.2 for further details).

Clearly, the participants have different social contact patterns related to who is in close proximity to them and who they are in contact with in the different social activities they engage in (mainly studying and work). Trudgill (1986:39) has long ago asserted that “people on average come into contact most often with people who live closest to them and least often with people who live furthest away”. Certainly, the world is now different from how it was at the time when Trudgill made this statement. For example, physical interaction is now facilitated by better transportation systems, and technology has literally made the world a small village such that people can interact with anyone around the globe (Goldenberg and Levy 2009). Yet, recent research confirms that people generally “continue to establish new social relations in the traditional manner, through social activities and face to face meetings” (Goldenberg and Levy 2009:4). Barthélemy (2011:29) also asserts that “space is...important in social networks. It is indeed reasonable to think that in order to minimize their effort and to maintain social ties, most individuals will connect with their spatial neighbors”. Such accounts validate my proposal that proximity to speakers of the local ND in the AoA group of less than 18 years is indeed influential for those speakers' use of the local labialized variant. Likewise, speakers' proximity to migrants speaking other dialects than ND motivates their shift towards the supralocal variant, especially amongst those whose AoA is older than 18 years. Spatial proximity in this case promotes different patterns for exposure to the local

and the supralocal forms which results in a higher rate of maintenance of ND norms amongst the migrants with AoA of less than 18 years. On the other hand, the increased exposure to the supralocal variant amongst speakers whose AoA is 18+ years leads to a higher degree of divergence from ND. Such patterns are in line with D’Imperio and German’s (2015) report that speakers’ ability to imitate structural and phonetic details of a non-native dialect is correlated with the degree of exposure.

The influence of AoA has also been linked to the LoR factor (e.g. Trudgill 1986; Payne 1989; Drummond 2010). Amongst the Nizwa migrants, the effect of LoR on labialization is within the threshold of significance indicating that a longer LoR could possibly lead to more use of the supralocal variant. Yet, this trend needs to be verified with further data from more speakers with long and short LoR. Such a positive correlation between the use of a new dialectal variant and LoR is also reported by Trudgill (1986),⁴⁶ Tagliamonte and Molfenter (2007) and Berthele (2002).⁴⁷ The trend amongst the Nizwa migrants indicates that a longer LoR leads to more contact and exposure to the D2 feature of the fronted vowel which hence triggers a higher rate for the divergence from ND. Yet, no significant interaction between AoA and LoR is found which means that an early AoA combined with a long LoR does not necessarily lead to a higher use of the non-labialized variant and vice-a-versa.

A final point to note here is the intra-speaker variation affirmed by the significant effects of speech style. Corroborating findings reported by other researchers (e.g. Trudgill 1974; Coupland 1980; Abdel-Jawad 1981; Labov 2001; Schilling-Estes 2006), this study sets out to detail how the prestigious non-labialized form is used more often in careful than in casual speech styles which exhibit a higher use of the stigmatized labialized variant as one might have predicted. This style shifting suggests that this variable is indeed a linguistic marker (Jansen 2014:91). The increased shift towards the non-labialized variant in careful speech suggests that speakers must be conscious of this marker and its association with the prestigious social groups albeit not explicitly referring to it (Schilling-Estes and Wolfram 1997:90). This finding not only confirms the orderliness of the variation in urban settings (Coupland 2007:33), but the fact that such stylistic differences are also a way of indexing social meaning (Coupland 2007:1). As explained by Coupland (2007:38):

⁴⁶ See (2.3) for details on this study.

⁴⁷ See (7.1.3) for details on those studies.

“Social and stylistic ‘planes of variation’ are two different abstractions from the same data. Formality or carefulness is assumed to be a matter of speakers modifying their speech in respect of those same features that define their place in a social hierarchy. We might say that ‘speaking carefully’ ... is no different from speaking in the person of a socially more prestigious speaker – it is assumed to be a re-voicing of social class, or a modification of a speaker’s... social projection”.

Thus, it can be understood that the speakers’ alignment with the prestigious form in their careful speech is a mechanism for projecting themselves in a way they wish to be identified with. In the case of Nizwa migrants, this means projecting themselves as prestigious, modern and educated individuals and as part of the modern society of Muscat, in opposition to the stigmatized meanings attached to Nizwa in the social imaginary of people from Muscat. This can be supported by the statements in (2) which were mentioned during the interviews.

(2)

- a. **SKA:** “Yes, there is [a change in ND]. I suppose it is a result for mixing with other people [from other areas], so they [i.e. speakers of ND] want to show interlocutors that they can be of similar social status to them or to claim a higher cultural/educational level”.
- b. **SHSA:** “There is change and new words [in ND] ... Maybe because the society is now modern and people knew the SA more because of education. In the past, education was limited to certain groups of people... So, I think education plays a role [in the change in ND]”.
- c. **BK:** “There are differences [in the ND among the young generation]... Maybe because you come to Muscat and mix with other people and you learn from them, so you change... Likewise, some people think that other speakers are modern, so why don’t I be modern and speak like them?”

Further details on the indexicality and meaning of this linguistic variation will follow in (8.2). The following section provides a discussion of the effects of the linguistic constraints on labialization.

6.1.4.2 The effects of the linguistic constraints

The divergence from the ND labialization rule requires the back vowel [u] to be fronted to surface as [i]. Back vowel fronting is a phenomenon that has been widely investigated in many languages

including English (e.g. Thomas 1989, 2001; Labov 1994; Fought 1999; Watt and Tillotson 2001; Fridland 2008), Spanish (e.g. Willis 2005; Alvord and Rogers 2017) as well as Bedouin dialects of Arabic (e.g. Abboud 1979; Rosenhouse 2006; Levin 2011). It should nevertheless be noted that unlike the ND vowel fronting under investigation, the phenomenon in English is a fine-grained phonetic variation that is best detected using acoustic analyses (e.g. Watt and Tillotson 2001). While phoneticians can carry out auditory analysis for this phenomenon in English (e.g. Khattab 1999), the variation may not be easily heard by the naïve speaker.

Linguistic conditions are reported to affect this type of change. For example, Fridland and Bartlett (2006) examine the fronting of the vowels of BOOT, BOOK and BOAT by African-Americans and European-Americans who are natives of Memphis, USA. They report that the advancement of the BOOT vowel is linked to labial and alveolar preceding consonants and to nasal following consonants. In addition, the fronting of the BOOK vowel happens mostly when the vowel follows velar, glottal or alveolar consonants. Preceding palatals, alveolars and velars are the contexts in which BOAT fronting occurs most often. Fridland and Bartlett point out that post-labial vowels and those followed with lateral sounds are less likely to be fronted.

Likewise, in Bedouin dialects of Arabic, the back low short and long vowels /a/ and /a:/ are fronted and raised to [i] and [ie] and this process is commonly referred to as *ʔimālah* ‘inclining, bending to’ (Davey 2016:48-49). As with vowel fronting in English, the fronting/raising of /a/ and /a:/ in Arabic dialects is affected by linguistic constraints since it is conditioned by the presence of the vowel /i/ in a neighboring syllable (Owens 2006:197). At the same time, the presence of emphatics, gutturals, /q/, /x/, /ɣ/ and occasionally /r/ blocks *ʔimālah* (Owens 2006:226).

Unsurprisingly then, the Nizwa migrants’ divergence from labialization is affected by the preceding and following consonants. On the one hand, a significant effect for the categories of [+emphatic] and [+guttural] is seen when these sounds are in the preceding environment as they are associated with a decrease in labialization. This finding supports the rule devised for labialization in ND as presented in (5.1.1.2.2). In fact, this observation indicates that the pattern of labialization amongst the Nizwa migrants is different from that followed by speakers of other varieties of Arabic. Amongst the latter group, labialization occurs in the vicinity of emphatic and back consonants and it proceeds regardless of the position of these consonants (see 5.1.1.1). Interestingly, the observation that the category of ‘other’ in the preceding environment triggers less

labialization (see 6.1.3.1) indicates that amongst the Nizwa migrants, the influence of the following sounds on the application of labialization is stronger than that of the preceding sounds.

On the other hand, the following environment shows that as with the Najdi, Yemeni and Muslim Baghdadi varieties of Arabic (Al-Mouzaini 1981; Watson 1999; Bellem 2007), emphatics in the data of the Nizwa migrants are indeed associated with a significantly high use of labialization. However, a change is observed on the effect of velars as they are now linked to the shift towards the use of the fronted vowel [i]. Although velars are cross-linguistically associated with back vowels (Chen and Kent 2005:508-509), the fronting of back vowels in the presence of velars is an attested phenomenon as reported in Fridland and Bartlett's (2006) aforementioned study and by Fridland (2008) in her study of back vowel fronting by speakers of English in Nevada.

In fact, the effect of the emphatic consonants (/tˤ/, /sˤ/, /ðˤ/) on the labialization of the vowel /i/ is very interesting and it is possible to question whether this effect is related to the phenomenon of pharangealization/emphasis spread in the dialect. Pharangealization is the process that triggers the spread of emphasis from emphatic sounds to nearby segments, whether consonants or vowels, causing them to acquire a secondarily pharangealization feature (Freeman 2017). Freeman (2017) also notes that although emphasis spread "is ubiquitous in Arabic," its properties differ in different dialects. For example, the emphasis spreads throughout the entire word in Cairne Arabic, but it only targets the adjacent vowel in the Abha dialect of Saudi Arabia (Algryani 2014:31). In Arabic dialects, the emphasis spread can be regressive or progressive. Regressive emphasis spread is when the emphasis spreads "onto adjacent segments starting from the emphatic [sound] and [proceeds] leftwards to the beginning of the word". Progressive emphasis spread "starts normally from the emphatic consonant and extends to the end of the word affecting the segments following the emphatic" (Algryani 2014:32). Example (3) shows that regressive (3a-b) and progressive (3c-d) pharangealization is attested in ND.

(3)

- | | | |
|----|------------|-------------------|
| a. | /ba:sˤ/ | 'bus' |
| b. | /mari:ðˤ/ | 'sick (2p.masc.)' |
| c. | /sˤo:t/ | 'sound' |
| d. | /tˤa:bu:q/ | 'bricks' |

⁴⁸ The use of boldface in this example and example (4) indicates that the sound is pronounced with a pharangealization feature.

According to Thompson (2006:229-230), regressive emphasis is unbounded in Arabic while progressive spread can be blocked by certain sounds which differ from one dialect to another. Following Thompson's (2006) analysis of two Palestinian dialects, it turns out that the sounds /i/, /i:/, /w/, /j/ and /ʃ/ are the ones that block the progressive emphasis spread in ND. This is understood from the example in (4) which shows that progressive emphasis spread does not apply when there is /i/, /i:/, /w/, /j/ or /ʃ/ rightwards to the emphatic sound (4a-e). When those sounds are leftwords however, regressive emphasis still applies (4e-g).

(4)

- | | |
|---------------|--------------------------------|
| a. /t̤i:n/ | ‘mud’ |
| b. /t̤wa:l/ | ‘long’ |
| c. /ʃut̤ʃa:n/ | ‘thirsty (2p.masc.)’ |
| d. /s̤a:jjum/ | ‘fasting (2p.masc.)’ |
| e. /wa:s̤il/ | ‘has arrived (2p.masc.)’ |
| f. /ʃa:t̤ur/ | ‘he is excellent’ |
| g. /jubs̤ur/ | ‘he is visiting a sick person’ |

The observation that progressive pharyngealization is blocked by /i/ is of interest here as this can be linked to the finding that the labialization of /i/ does not occur when the vowel is preceded by an emphatic sound. Algryani (2014:37) explains that “the front non-low vowels /i:/and /i/... are antagonistic to emphasis spread because of their height and frontness in the mouth, which is contradictory to the articulation of emphatics, thus weakening the spread of emphasis to neighbouring segments”. We thus see that the blocking of progressive emphasis spread when /i/ follows an emphatic sound is phonetically motivated. Results from this study also reveal that labialization is also blocked when /i/ is preceded by an emphatic. In fact, Archangeli and Pulleyblank (1994) as well as Watson (1999) affirm that in situations of emphasis spread and labialization, the two processes are likely to interact with each other. Watson (1999:298-299) for example write that:

“In the spread of both pharyngealization and labialization there is an unmarked directionality of spread that I argue should be encoded into the phonology as (or as part of) a markedness statement on the respective feature... The way in which markedness of the directionality of spread manifests itself will depend partly on the feature in question and partly on language-specific factors”.

That being said, it is unfortunately not within the scope of this study to uncover the specifics of the interaction and directionality of these two processes in ND in details. However, the findings from this study do suggest that there seems to be an interaction between the two processes in the dialect given that the blocking of progressive pharyngealization coincides with the lack of the application of labialization. It would thus be interesting to pursue this research avenue in the future.

Finally, it cannot be ignored that the change in the ND rule of labialization is consonant with Labov's (1994:16-117) principle III of vowel shifting which states that "back vowels move to the front" and this process is supported by Labov to apply in chain shifting as well as in individual vowel movements.

Further discussion on the linguistic interpretations of these findings is provided in (8.1). I now move to reveal the results of the syncope process.

6.2 Syncope

The data included 6158 tokens which undergo syncope. Tokens with non-syncopated vowels comprise 69% of the data indicating that there is a general trend towards relinquishing the ND syncope rule amongst study participants.

6.2.1 The mixed-effects logistic regression model

Predictor	Estimates	S.E	Pr(> z)	N	% deleted
Gender					
female (baseline)				2882	25%
Male	0.882	0.229	<0.001	3276	35%
Age (continuous)	-0.074	0.03	0.01		
AoA					
less than 18years (baseline)				988	36%
between 18-23 years	0.465	0.365	0.2	4083	30%
older than 23 years	1.039	0.604	0.09	1087	29%
LoR (continuous)	0.046	0.025	0.057		
Speech style					
careful (baseline)				2844	33%
Casual	-0.207	0.07	0.003	3314	29%
Vowel					
/a/ (baseline)				2280	29%
/i/	0.076	0.095	0.4	770	43%
/u/	-0.162	0.08	0.04	2207	29%
Preceding sound					
stop (baseline)				1423	50%
Fricative	-0.623	0.103	<0.001	1302	45%
Nasal	-2.108	0.101	<0.001	2225	12%
Liquid	-0.808	0.124	<0.001	418	34%
Glide	-1.068	0.136	<0.001	790	23%
Following sound					
obstruent (baseline)				4515	31%
Sonorant	-0.673	0.164	<0.001	1640	30%
Interactions					
gender x age	0.049	0.026	0.058		
preceding x following sounds					
fricative * sonorant	1.578	0.204	<0.001		
nasal * sonorant	0.488	0.238	0.04		
Intercept	-0.757	0.428	0.08		

Table 6.2: the mixed-effects test for the influence of the independent predictors on the use of syncope

As this data demonstrates, statistically significant effects are detected for the social factors of gender, age and speech style. Equally, all sound categories within the preceding sound environment are significant. The positive coefficients indicate that more deletion occurs among men and when the syllable contains the high vowel /i/. On the other hand, the negative coefficients signal that less

deletion occurs in causal style and when the syllable has the vowel /u/. The model also provides significant interactions for the linguistic predictors. These findings are detailed in the sections below.

6.2.2 The influence of the social predictors on the use of syncope

6.2.2.1 Gender

Figure 6.9 shows the use of ND deletion rule by female and male migrants in Muscat. Unlike the use of labialization, syncope is significantly affected by gender. As evident in the figure below, male speakers tend to adhere to the local rule of syncope more than females (35% and 25%, respectively).

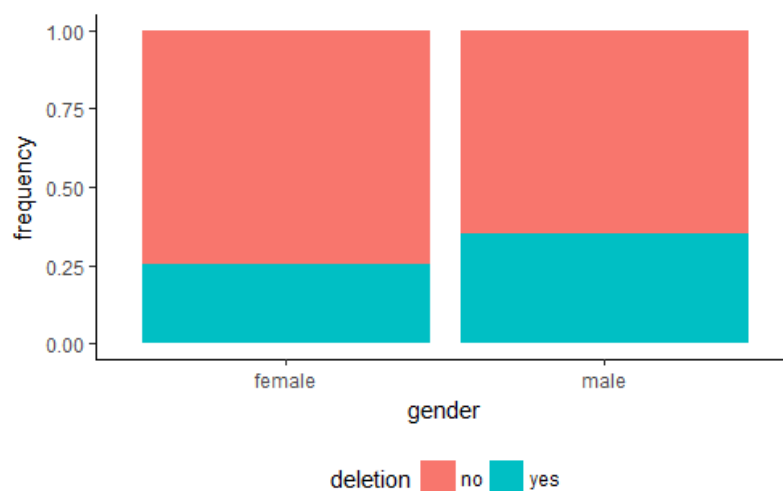


Figure 6.9: the effect of gender on syncope

6.2.2.2 Age

Age is another significant factor in the use of syncope ($p < 0.001$) and its effect is illustrated in Figure 6.10.

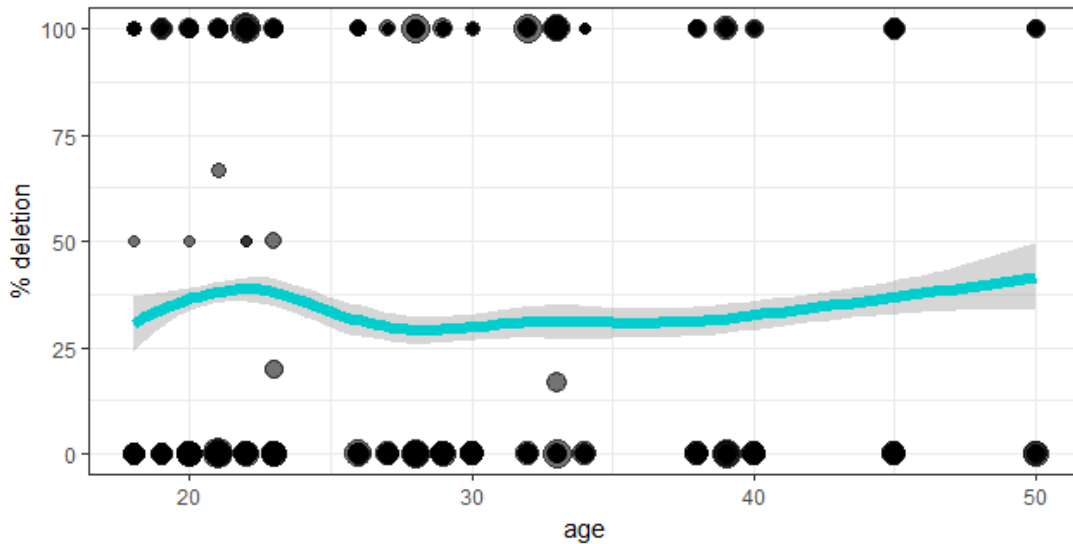


Figure 6.10: the effect of age on the use of syncope

Evidently, vowel deletion has an overall percentage that is less than 50% across all ages which indicates that this feature is changing within this community. However, younger speakers (between 18- early twenties) present a higher use of syncope compared to the older generations as we see a decrease in the use of this ND feature within individuals in their mid-twenties and over. Nevertheless, a high use of syncope is also apparent after the age of 40. The latter trend can be justified by the fact that within the sample, speakers aged 40+ years are only males and, as clarified in (6.2.2.1), males are more likely to delete word onset vowels. This effect is more noticeable in Figure 6.11, which shows a stable use of syncope by males up to the age of 50, but a decrease in females' use only up to the age of 40. The p-value for this interaction is within the threshold of significance (0.058) which may justify the rise of syncope at the older age (i.e. over 40 years).

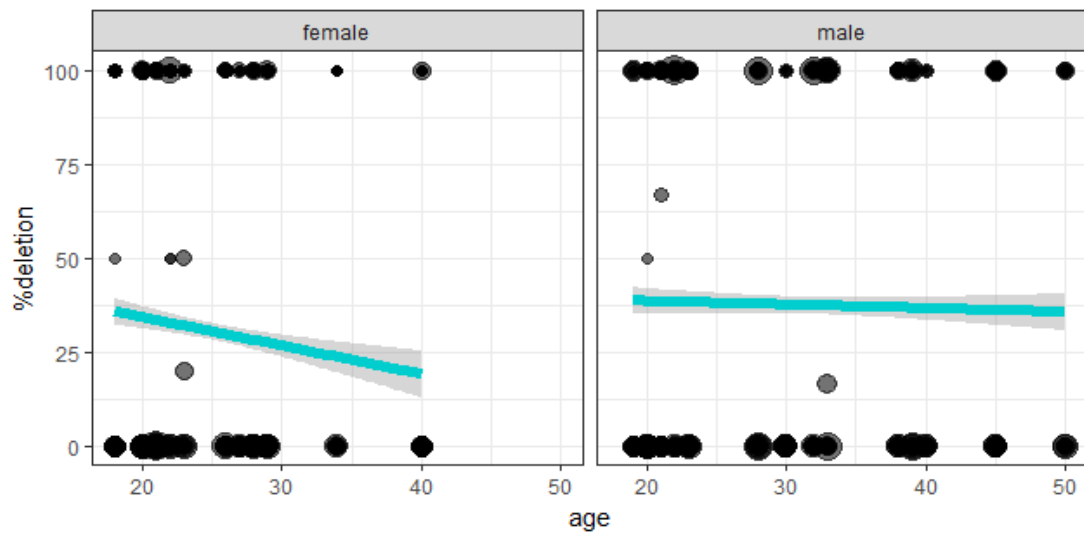


Figure 6.11: the interaction between age and gender in relation to syncope

6.2.2.3 AoA

The syncope logistic-regression model confirms that AoA has no significant impact on this process. As illustrated in Figure 6.12, speakers of all AoA groups highly diverge from the local use of syncope and opt for retaining the vowels in word-onsets' open syllables.

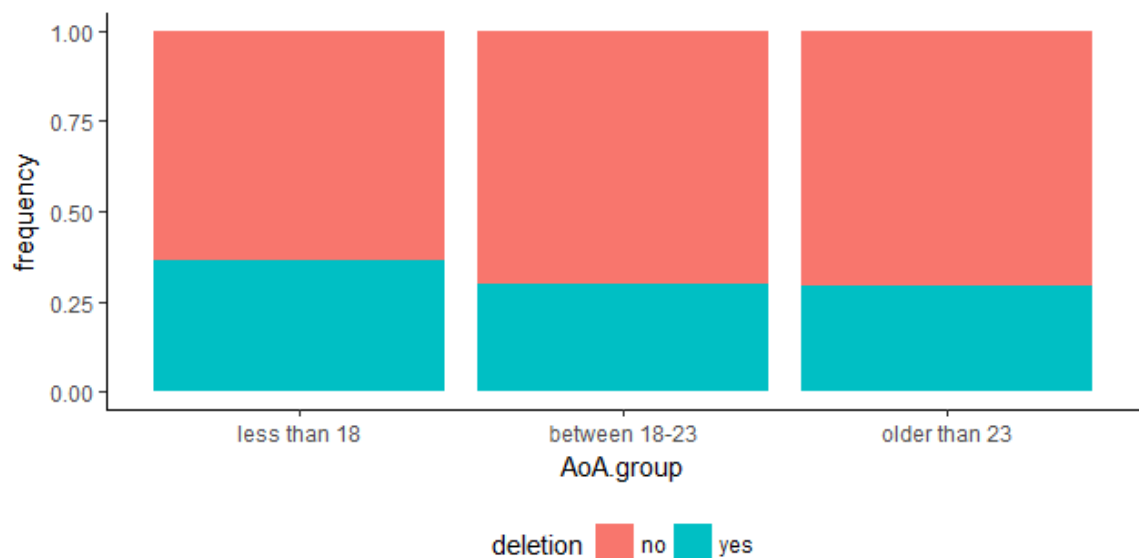


Figure 6.12: the effect of AoA on the use of syncope

6.2.2.4 LoR

As clarified in Table 6.2, the effect of LoR on syncope has a p-value of 0.057. Contrary to the case of labialization (see 6.1.2.4), the effect of LoR on syncope is understood to be insignificant as it is evident from Figure 6.13 that the use of this feature is stable across the different lengths of stay in Muscat. In fact, calculating the mean of the frequency of syncope amongst speakers whose LoR is 1-10 years and those with a LoR of 11+ years shows that in both groups the mean is 29%. This observation supports that there is no significant difference amongst speakers with different lengths of stay in Muscat.

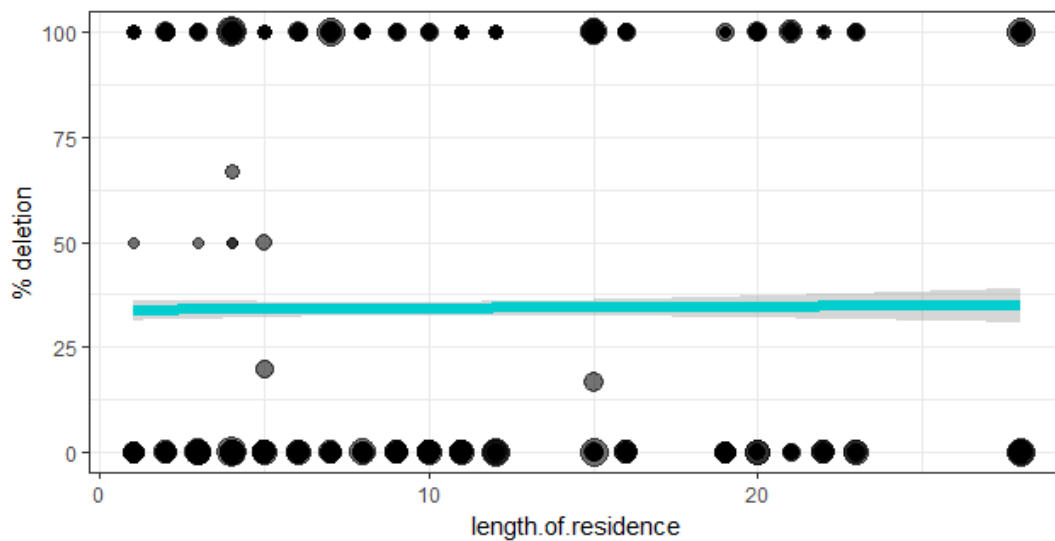


Figure 6.13: the effect of LoR on the use of syncope

6.2.2.5 Speech style

The influence of speech style on the use of ND vowel deletion is displayed in Figure 6.14.

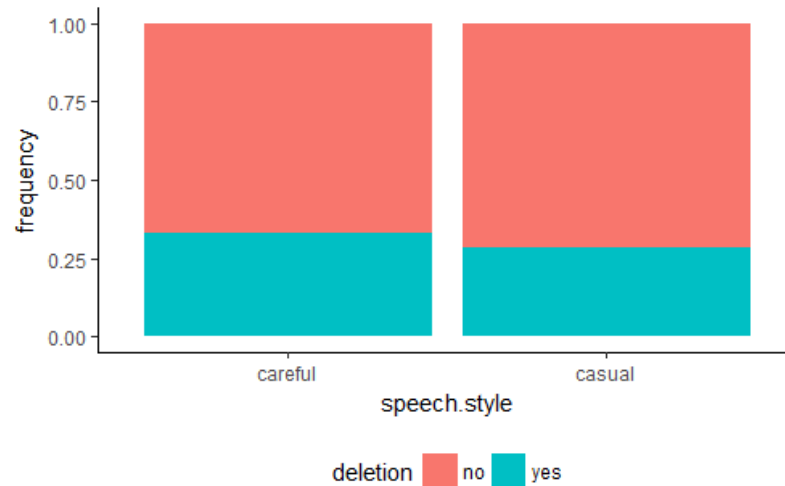


Figure 6.14: the effect of speech style on syncope

Interestingly enough, a statistically significant vowel deletion option ($p=0.003$) occurs in the careful speech style more than the casual style in which there is a preference to minimize the use of this process. This is indeed an unexpected result and its connotation will be delved into in (6.2.4).

Having provided the effects of the social factors on the variation in using syncope, I now move to explore the effects of the linguistic conditions.

6.2.3 The influence of the linguistic predictors on the use of syncope

6.2.3.1 The vowel

The discussion in (5.1.2.2.1) reveals that in ND all short vowels can be deleted in word onsets' CVs. Figure 6.15 displays the patterns that Nizwa migrants follow in relation to the deletion of the short vowels /a/, /i/ and /u/.

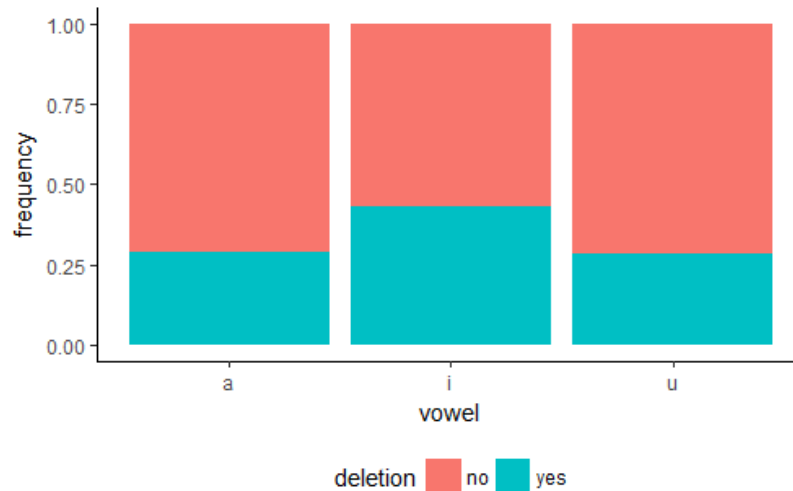


Figure 6.15: the effect of vowel quality on the application of syncope

As clarified in Table 6.2 and evident in the above figure, /i/ is the vowel deleted most often (49%) while /a/ and /u/ are deleted at a rate of only 29%. This variation toward the retention of the vowels /a/ and /u/ is found to be statistically significant ($p=0.04$)⁴⁹ which supports the significance of vowel quality as a predictor for the syncope variable.

6.2.3.2 The preceding consonant

As with vowels, the preceding consonant is also a significant predictor for syncope ($p<0.001$). The effect of this factor is plotted in Figure 6.16, showing a high rate of vowel deletion with preceding stops and fricatives. On the other hand, deletion occurs at rates of only 34% or less with preceding sonorous sounds like nasals, liquids and glides.

⁴⁹ The significance of /a/ which is the baseline level for the factor vowel, is inferred from the observation that it has an equivalent rate of deletion to /u/ which is a significant factor. This is also confirmed by the re-ordering of the vowel levels in the logist regression model.

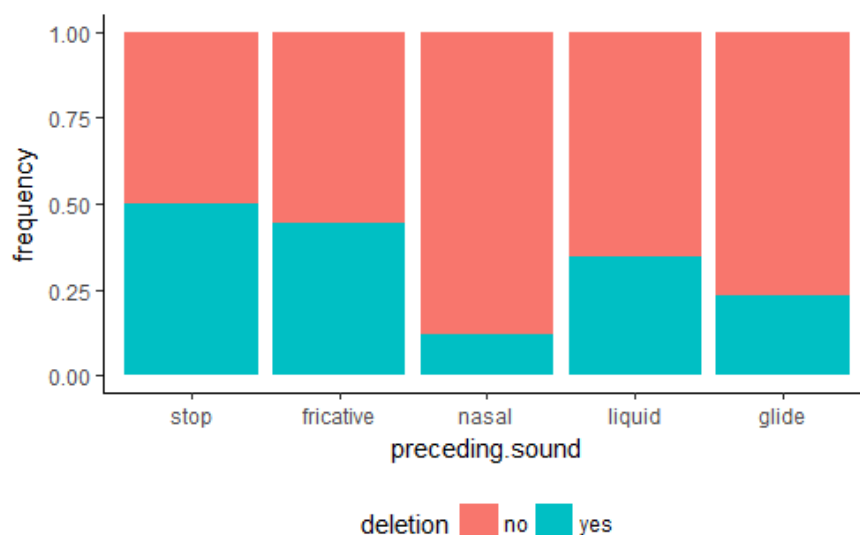


Figure 6.16: the effect of the preceding sound on the application of syncope

These differences highlight the overall statistical significance of the effect that the sonority of the preceding sound has on the application of a syncope rule since sounds that are low on the sonority hierarchy are observed to trigger a higher rate of deletion while those which are not are associated instead with a higher frequency of vowel retention.

6.2.3.3 The following consonant

Categorizing the following sounds in the same way used for the preceding sound factor (i.e. as stops, fricatives, nasals, liquids and glides) proved to be problematic for the mixed-effects logistic regression model since some sound combinations did not exist (e.g. glide-glide, glide-liquid, nasal-liquid). This issue led to the generation of false positive significance (e.g. nasal-liquid). To resolve this issue, I grouped the following sounds into two categories: (i) obstruent (which includes stops and fricatives) and (ii) sonorant, i.e. nasals, liquids and glides. This method is more statistically supported in the model comparison with ANOVA and it is informative with regard to the effect of the sonority of the following sound when considered along with the preceding sound's effect (see 6.2.3.4 below for further details).

It is clear in Table 6.2 that there is a very minor difference between the obstruent and sonorant following sounds in the rate of vowel deletion (31% and 30%, respectively) and this difference is

illustrated in Figure 6.17. Nevertheless, the mixed-effects model yields a significant p-value for the sonorant following sound. However, when the use of syncope is tested in a mixed-effects model which has no interaction between the preceding and following sound, it turns out that the following sound is statistically insignificant. Such finding indicates that the significance of the sonorant following sound in the model in Table 6.2 is only relevant for the baseline categories (e.g. females, younger AoA, careful speech style) and it does not apply for the entire dataset. Thus, I conclude that the following sound has no significant influence on speakers' retention/deletion of short vowels.

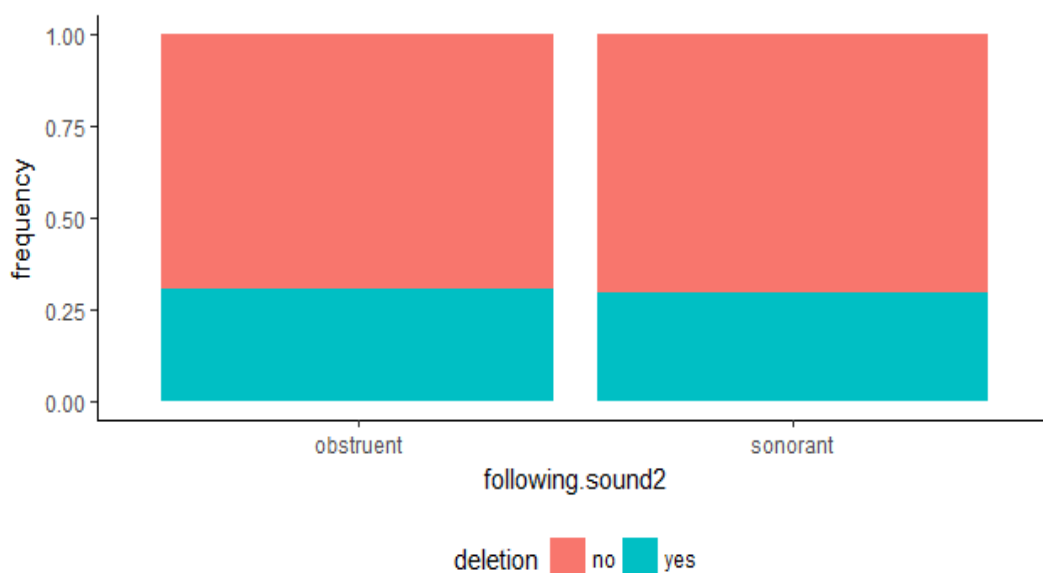


Figure 6.17: the effect of the following sound on the application of syncope

6.2.3.4 The interaction between the preceding and the following consonants

We cannot verify whether the SSP is observed in the data unless we uncover how vowel deletion patterns when the contexts of preceding and following sound interact with each other. Therefore, this issue was also taken into consideration. The syncope mixed-effects model shows that the only significant interactions between the preceding and following sounds are found in the environments of fricative-sonorant and nasal-sonorant. The positive coefficients given in Table 6.2 clarify that deletion occurs in both sequences. This interaction is displayed in Figure 6.18 which shows that

vowel deletion is more frequent in the sequence fricative-sonorant (approximately 50%) than nasal-sonorant (below 20%). Although vowel deletion is likely in the latter sequence, the rate of vowel retention in this sequence is still higher than that in fricative-sonorant. This is also supported by the estimates number for the two sequences as provided in Table 6.2 (1.578 for fricative-sonorant and 0.488 only for nasal-sonorant).

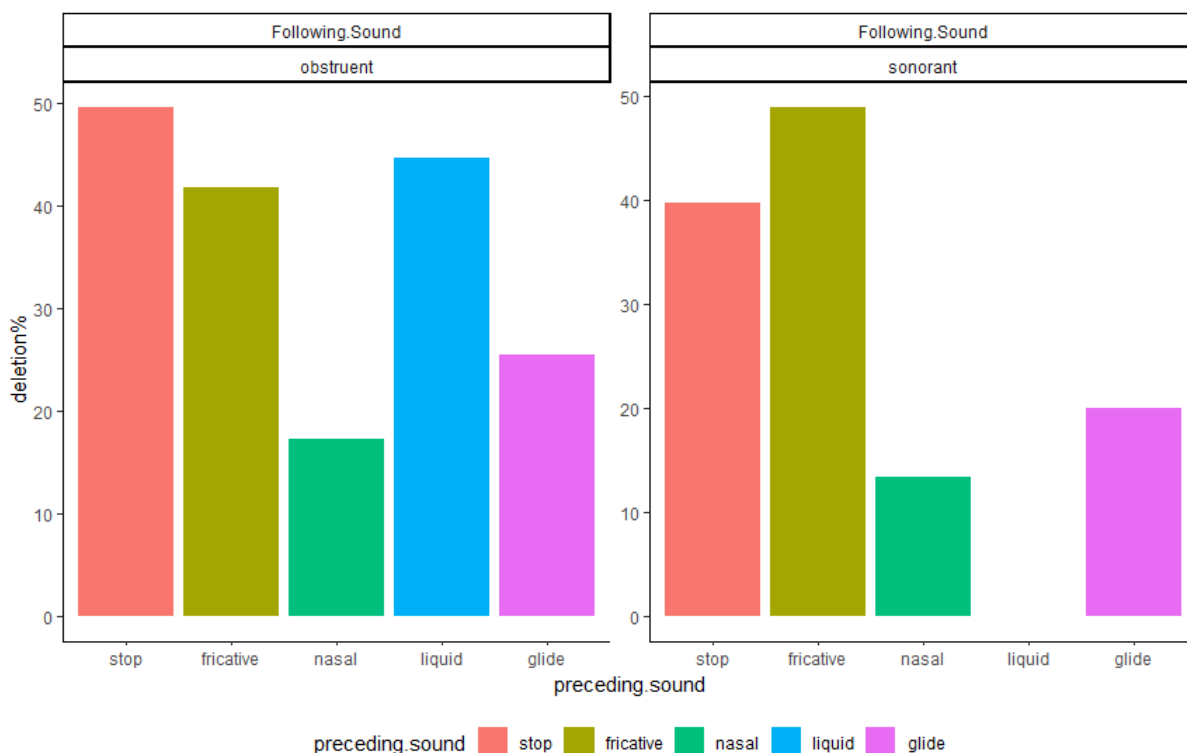


Figure 6.18: the interaction between preceding and following sounds in relation to syncope

The findings in this section entail that word onsets' CC clusters of descending sonority levels are insignificant amongst Nizwa migrants. This can be inferred from the lack of significant interactions between different preceding sound categories with obstruents. Furthermore, the observation that the Nizwa migrants' deletion of vowels produces words which have onsets with CC clusters with the sequence fricative-sonorant entails that a structure of low to high sonority is followed by these speakers. These observations are indeed in harmony with the SSP requirements which confirms that this principle is actively followed by the Nizwa migrants with regard to sonority ascendance. However, a violation of this principle is attested in the pattern nasal-sonorant. The finding that vowels can, to a lesser degree, be deleted in nasal-sonorant environments entails that clusters with equal sonority are permissible in the dialect of the migrants. Further details on this effect are provided in (6.2.4.2).

In summary, a mixed-effects regression model confirms that Nizwa migrants' use of syncope is influenced by the factors of gender, age, speech style, vowel quality and the preceding consonant. In contrast, AoA, LoR and the following environment are irrelevant to the overall use of syncope. The results also show that the interaction between the preceding and following consonants verifies that the application of syncope is largely constrained with SSP requirements. The following section discusses these findings.

6.2.4 Syncope discussion

6.2.4.1 The effects of the social constraints

Syncope is a changing feature in the dialect of the Nizwa migrants as the supralocal non-syncopated word-onsets prevail in the data. Women, middle-aged and older speakers are most prominent in adopting this change which predominates in the context of casual speech.

Nizwa women's advanced divergence from the ND rule of syncope is unsurprising and it is consonant with Labov's Principle II of language change (see 4.2.1). The association of women with standard forms is confirmed in different languages and communities (e.g. English (Woods 1997; Milroy et al. 1997), Spanish (Lynch 2009; Michnowicz and Barnes 2013) and Japanese (Takano 1998)). Studies on different varieties of Arabic also confirm women's association with locally prestigious forms (e.g. Bakir 1986; Al-Wer 1997; Taqi 2010). Although it is difficult to interpret the role of gender across all communities by adopting a single argument (Cheshire 2006:427), researchers have often shown that speakers tend to "look upward in the socioeconomic hierarchy for standards of correctness and feel constrained in their... interactions to "accommodate" upward" (Eckert 1989:249). Hence, because women are the advanced accommodators, it is of fundamental importance to examine their social position in Oman. The Omani government has focussed on empowering women and granting them economic equality in "education, health, employment, income opportunities, control over assets, personal security and participation in the political process" (Varghese 2011:38). Yet, this attempt at redacting economic inequality is still not enough to grant women parallel power and social status to men within Omani society which is still characterized by "patriarchal social power" (Varghese 2011:47). Indeed, research from western communities also verifies that "[d]espite radical changes in the economic position of women in society ...they remain a secondary status group" (Labov 2001:262). Thus,

the women within the Nizwa migrants' group resort to adopting the socially-esteemed variant of syncope that is associated with literacy, modernity and prestige. Such a shift is a mechanism for these women to assert their socioeconomic equality and to claim their just status in society (further discussion on the role of gender in the Omani society can be found in 8.2.1). This trend is also affirmed by Trudgill (1972) who shows that women in Norwich adopt RP forms to alleviate their social status and by Taqi (2010) who shows that Ajami women converge to esteemed Najdi Arabic forms to gain the social prestige associated with this group in the Kuwaiti society (see 2.4.3).

With respect to the effect of age on syncope, it should be noted that the nearly flat shape presented in Figure 6.10 can be indicative of a communal change in the community of the migrants which can be supported by the low rate (31%) of the application of syncope in the data (see 6.2). Interestingly, this change in syncope amongst the Nizwa migrants poses a contradictory result to the view that:

“A change reveals itself prototypically in a pattern whereby some minor variant in the speech of the oldest generation occurs with greater frequency in the middle generation and with still greater frequency in the youngest generation” (Chambers 2006b:355).

In this study, the divergence from syncope is more frequent among middle-aged and older speakers (i.e. those aged 25-50 years) than younger ones (18-24 years). This age difference can in fact be linked to the above-reported effect of gender. As shown in the mixed-effects model in Table 6.2, the interaction between gender and age cannot be ruled out in this study since it is still within the threshold of the significance level ($p=0.058$). Thus, it can be argued that females' advancement in relinquishing syncope is especially influential in the middle and older age groups (see Figure 6.11) which in turn results in an overall decrease in the rate of syncope in this age-span. Further support for this argument can be derived from the differences in the rates of syncope between males and females in the age-spans of 18-24 and 25-50.

	18-24 years	25-50 years
Males	19%	20%
Females	16%	8%

Table 6.3: the rates of the application of syncope by men and women in the different age-spans

As shown in Table 6.3, there is a minor difference between males and females' use of syncope in the age group 18-24 years (19% and 16% respectively). However, the difference is bigger in the 25-50 year olds as men use syncope more often than women (20% and 8% respectively). This indicates that the decrease in syncope in older age groups can be associated with the decrease in women's use of this rule. As such, there is a plausible effect for the interaction between gender and age which results in the observed overall decrease in syncope in relation to age. In fact, it is evident from Figure 6.11 that men have a stable use of syncope while the reduction of this feature is observable among women aged 25+. However, this needs to be supported with further data to ensure a more reliable result on the significance of this interaction.

Contrary to findings on labialization, a significant reduction in syncope occurs regardless of AoA and LoR in Muscat. This suggests that the acquisition of this feature can happen across the age range (Kerswill 1996:191) and with a short or long length of stay. Yet, we do not see a complete acquisition of the supralocal feature in any of the AoA groups and the LoR spans. Instead, there is a continuous variation in this variable throughout the speakers' lifespans and LoR as they all continue using the new form along with their local syncope word-onsets to a lesser degree. Such varied use indicates that while it is possible for adults to acquire new dialectal forms, "this acquisition will not be complete" (Drummond 2010:38) and such a trend is also reported by Shockey (1984) and Shetewi (2018). This finding affirms Meisel's (2011:121) view that "if ... onset of acquisition is delayed, this can indeed lead to incomplete acquisition". However, this view is also challenged by the observation that even speakers whose AoA is as early as less than one year (e.g. participants AK and HK) do not maintain a constant use of the supralocal variant and instead continue using the ND form of syncope. In fact, their trend can be justified by the constant exposure to the ND norms of syncope within their social contacts (see 6.1.4.1). At the same time, the participants' overall high rate of success in relinquishing syncope despite their varying AoA and LoR can be attributed to the fact that this rule is less complex than labialization (see 8.1.1). In addition, the reversal of syncope yields words that are comparable to the SA forms. As all participants have knowledge of SA through their exposure to formal education, pronouncing their words without the vowel deletion is facilitated by such knowledge and it does not require early or long exposure to the supralocal variant.

Strikingly, despite syncope being less frequent in the data, its use rises in careful speech style although this context tends to be linked to the use of supralocal forms (e.g. Labov 2001, Chambers 2006) - as it is the case with labialization (see 6.1.4.1). Schilling-Estes (2006:376) explains that

style-shifting can be a deliberate process carried out by speakers' who are acutely aware of their linguistic behavior. The unusual stylistic pattern amongst the Nizwa migrants and their conscious conformity to their dialectal norm in the careful style emphasizes that intra-speaker variation can involve shifts not only out of a language variety, but also into a language variety (Schilling-Estes 2006:375).

Furthermore, Rickford and Eckert (2002:3) mention the fact that "speech that is most natural... emerges when the speaker is not monitoring their speech". Thus, we can conclude that syncope is generally avoided in the vernacular of the migrants, as evident by the avoidance of this feature in the casual speech style. The high usage of syncope when speakers monitor their speech is surprising at first glance. However, contextualizing this linguistic behavior helps to understand it. Style-shifting is a social practice that has social meaning and it can be linked to identity affiliations (Auer 2007:14). For example, Auer (2007:13) writes that:

"[S]tyle as a way to position oneself or others in social space implies that the knowledge about relevant oppositions and (consequently) social meanings is in itself socially distributed: what from a distance may look 'all the same' may display a filigrane pattern of distinctive differences when seen under the looking glass of the social groups directly involved. Here, social space is not organised differently from geographical space".

As an example for this, Auer (2007:13) refers to the variable use of /ai/ in German which is raised to [æi] in Swabian dialect and realized as [ʼi] in the German of Lake Constance Alemannic. To an outsider, the meaning of this variation would only be a matter of the geographical distribution of these variants. Yet, to the speakers of Swabian and Lake Constance Alemannic, "the distinction is an unmistakable index to Swabian vs. Badenian affiliation which has played an important role for regional and political identity-building for a long time".

Indeed, despite the participants' usage of supralocal features, they affiliated themselves with Nizwa and expressed pride in their origin and heritage. They also made comments which showed that they tend or want to (or even they think that they) maintain their local dialect as in the following statements.

(5)

- a. **SAZ:** “I try to use ND, but sometimes I cannot use it with a rate of 100%. But I can say that lately I worked hard to retrieve my dialect and I managed to get rid of words that I picked up in Muscat and go back to Nizwa’s way of speaking”.
- b. **MAA:** “I never [felt that my dialect was affected by other dialects]. I mean, I was told [by my friends in university accommodation] that I never changed my dialect”.
- c. **KKN:** “I always pay attention to this issue. I mean for example when I am with other guys and most of them are from Al-Batinah or other places, I use the words that we use [in ND]. I also explain their meanings to them. I do not try to talk like them. I feel some people [from Nizwa] for example feel shy, but I feel that I am not shy [from using my dialect]. I mean it is OK”.
- d. **RNK:** “I do not feel I changed my dialect. I sound the same as when I was little”.
- e. **NK:** “There is something strange that we are not used to. You know, how people left our dialect and actively took up parts of the Muscat dialect... For me, it is not in my nature to change my dialect. I like talking in the way I grew up with”.

These comments indicate that the speakers attach themselves to their Nizwa roots and identity and they want to reflect that through their speech. Interestingly, the statistical analysis validates that those speakers do not entirely conform to ND throughout their interviews. In fact, it is evident in Figure 6.14 that although syncope is used more in the careful style, the supralocal variant is still prevalent in both speech styles. This observation indicates that despite the migrants’ desire to affiliate themselves to their Nizwa identity, they also reflect an identity of an urban and modern speaker through their high maintenance of vowels and avoidance of the local syncope rule. Further discussions on the role of identity will follow in (8.2.3).

6.2.4.2 The effects of the linguistic constraints

The dialect change in the use of syncope requires reversing it by adding vowels to word-onsets. This change results in a re-analysis of the number of syllables and the syllabification of words. According to Bamakhramah (2009:7), speakers of different languages are guided by their intuition and are capable of discerning how many syllables they use in a word or an utterance. Accordingly, it can be understood that the Nizwa migrants try to match the pronunciation of other speakers in Muscat through the use of an epenthesis process in order to form words that contain no CC clusters in the word-onset. As suggested by Farwanah (2009), this synchronic epenthesis process is a repair

mechanism to avoid the outcome of the historic syncope process that yields CC clusters in word onsets (see 5.1.2.2.2). At the same time, the vowel epenthesis would lead the Nizwa migrants to forming words with parallel numbers of syllables to those used by other speakers in Muscat. This epenthesis process inserts a vowel between word-initial CC clusters to break them into ‘CV.C’. This change is in consonance with Vennemann’s (1998:13-14) condition (a) of the universal Head Law (where head refers to onset) which stipulates that a “syllable head is the more preferred: (a) the closer the number of speech sounds in the head is to one”. In the same vein, Vennemann’s (1998:21) Coda Law explains that universally, a smaller number of speech sounds in the coda is preferred. It can thus be inferred that the optimal universal syllable structure is that with a single C in the onset and a zero C in the coda. Carlisle (2001:2) also affirms that cross-linguistically, a CV syllable is a core and that languages tend to reduce CCV syllables to CV ones. While some languages like Sanskrit and Old High German do this by deleting one consonant (Vennemann 1988:14-15), Nizwa migrants modify their CCV words’ onsets by inserting vowels. Regarding which vowel to be inserted, Kirby (2014:234) clarifies that the original deleted vowels “are still part of the phonological specification of lexical items where they (predictably) appear”.

It should be noted that when syncope takes place in the data, it is mostly the vowel /i/ that is deleted while /a/ and /u/ are mostly retained. This can be linked to Kiparsky’s (2003:150) notes that the CC word-onsets in Arabic are resultant from the deletion of the vowel /i/ in CiC- syllables (see 5.1.2.2.1).

The variable use of syncope by Nizwa migrants reveals a lot vis-à-vis the effect of sonority. First, ND syncope highly applies when the preceding environment contains a stop or a fricative, i.e. a sound low on the sonority hierarchy. However, when a sonorant sound (nasal, liquid, glide) is in the preceding sound environment, syncope is rather avoided. Secondly, the analysis of the interaction between the preceding and following environments given in (6.2.3.4) confirms that the syllables in the migrants’ word-onsets are mostly formed according to the SSP requirements so that most word-onset syllables are formed in such a way as to be rising in sonority up to the peak, i.e. the vowel. An exception to this is the case with nasals preceding sounds followed by a sonorant following sound as this context allows for violation of the SSP.

The relationship between sonority and vowel insertion has been investigated within many varieties of Arabic (e.g. Abdul-Karim 1980; Jarrah 1993; Al-Mohanna 1998; Alqahtani 2014). For example, Alqahtani (2014:64-75) reports that studies on Lebanese Arabic, Medinah Hijazi Arabic and urban

Hijazi Arabic confirm that these varieties obey SSP requirements therefore vowel insertion is a mechanism used to satisfy SSP in these varieties. Likewise, Abdul-Karim's (1980) study of Lebanese Arabic shows that an epenthesis of /i/ in CC codas can be obligatory in order to break up the CC clusters, so that they conform to the SSP. A similar process takes place in Medinah Hijazi Arabic in which Jarrah (1993) shows that violation of SSP leads to vowel insertion.

Obviously, epenthetic processes in Lebanese Arabic and Medinah Arabic are phonotactically motivated and are in line with Hall's (2010:1576-1577) statement that vowel epenthesis occurs in order to satisfy the phonotactic requirements of a language. However, not all varieties of Arabic register this tendency. Alqahtani (2014:121) shows that in Najdi Arabic, word-initial clusters can violate SSP. He states that:

“A word-initial cluster in /kfu:f/ constitutes Plateau Sonority because both /k/ and /f/ are equally low in sonority. Reverse Sonority is found in the word-initial cluster in /rfu:f/ where the first member of this cluster /r/ is more sonorous than /f/”.

In fact, these examples occur similarly in ND, which indicates that plateau sonority and reverse sonority are both actually allowed in the dialect. However, the analysis of the speech of the migrants shows no significant deletion that results in clusters with descending sonority, i.e. such violation is unfavored and avoided by the migrants. Nevertheless, the trend of forming syllables with nasal-sonorant sequence suggests that plateau sonority is still present in the speech of the migrants. The finding that this violation is only significant with preceding nasal sounds confirms that the SSP is highly followed in the data of the migrants except for one particular context; i.e. nasal-sonorant.

Further discussion on the linguistic implications of these findings will follow in (8.1.2).

6.3 Conclusion

This chapter has analyzed the effect of the independent social and linguistic variables on the application of the dependent variable rules of labialization and syncope by migrant speakers of ND. Mixed-effects logistic regression models reveal different trends for the two variables. For example, while gender is irrelevant for the use of labialization, females are confirmed to be more advanced than males in avoiding syncope. Age is also insignificant for labialization, while syncope is linked

to speakers who are younger than the mid-twenty range. On the other hand, AoA does not affect syncope, yet speakers whose AoA is 18-23 years are the lowest users of labialization. Additionally, longer LoR can be linked to a higher use of labialization, but not to syncope preferences. Likewise, contradictory patterns are recorded for the effect of speech style. While speakers avoid labialization in the careful speech style, they avoid syncope in casual conversation.

These findings highlight the fact that contextualizing the results and relating them to the speakers' social setting is vital since it can assist with understanding the attested sociolinguistic variation. For example, understanding the social positions of men and women explains women's need to conform to the supralocal variant of syncope. Equally, examining the speakers' patterns of social contacts help with understanding the findings on the AoA effect. Additionally, speakers' affiliation with Nizwa identity can shed light on the intra-speaker variation.

The results further confirm a strong relationship between the application of labialization and [+emphatic] following sounds whereas [+velar] following sounds and preceding sounds which are [+emphatic] or [+guttural] are associated with the non-labialized variant [i]. Similarly, vowel syncope is unlikely to occur when there is a sonorant sound in the preceding environment. Additionally, interactions between the preceding and following consonants are confirmed, mainly for the sequences fricative-sonorant and nasal-sonorant. More vowel deletion occurs in the former sequence while the possibility of vowel deletion, although present, decreases in the latter sequence. This finding highlights the fact that SSP is predominantly followed in the data with a low rate of violation in the sequence nasal-sonorant.

The linguistic and sociolinguistic implications of these findings are provided in CHAPTER 8. In the next chapter, I provide the analysis of the morpho-syntactic variables and reveal the extent to which the patterns are similar or different to those already identified which will have important implications for the extent to which change can embed itself within different levels of the grammar.

CHAPTER 7 Results: Morpho-Syntactic Variables

7.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the statistical analyses for the morphological variables of the second-person feminine singular morpheme and the future morpheme as well as the syntactic variable relating to the *yes/no* question clitics. The analyses are presented in light of the discussion given in (6.0).

In this chapter, section (7.1) provides the results for the use of the second-person feminine singular suffix. The mixed-effects model for the influence of the extra-linguistic factors on the use of this variable is provided in (7.1.1). Details and plots for the effects of these variables follow in (7.1.2).⁵⁰ A discussion of the results is given in (7.1.3).

The variation in the use of the future morpheme is reported in (7.2). The section starts in (7.2.1) by revealing the results arrived at by testing the mixed-effects of the social and linguistic factors that are thought to influence this variable in the scholarly literature.⁵¹ Section (7.2.2), offers a review and explanatory plots for the roles of the social predictors on the change within this variable. The influence of the linguistic predictors of proximity in the future, grammatical person and animacy of the subject is clarified in (7.2.3). The results of the change in the future marker are discussed in (7.2.4).

After that, I reveal the results of the analysis regarding the use of *yes/no* question clitics in (7.3). I then provide the model for the mixed-effects of the social predictors on the use of this variable in (7.3.1).⁵² The effects of gender, age, AoA, LoR and speech styles are presented and illustrated in (7.3.2). Section (7.3.3) discusses these results. The chapter ends in (7.4) with a summary of the results.

⁵⁰ For further details on this variable, see (5.2.1).

⁵¹ For further details on this variable, see (5.2.2).

⁵² For further details on this variable, see (5.3).

7.1 Second-person feminine singular suffix

2040 tokens with the second-person feminine singular suffix were produced. Unpredictably, the data shows that speakers generally tend to use the ND affricated variant [-ij] (78%) over the variant [-ik] (22%) for this morpheme. The mixed-effects model for this variable is below.

7.1.1 The mixed-effects logistic regression model

The mixed-effects results for the social factors of gender, age, AoA, LoR and speech style on the use of the second-person feminine singular suffix is calculated in Table 7.1. In this model, the random effect for speaker is 4.029 and the standard deviation is 2.007.

Predictor	Estimates	S.E	Pr(> z)	N	% affrication
Gender					
female (baseline)				1158	98%
Male	-2.636	1.088	0.015	882	52%
Age (continuous)	-0.769	0.183	<0.001		
AoA					
less than 18years (baseline)				199	87%
between 18-23 years	4.218	1.662	0.011	1534	77%
older than 23 years	9.876	2.83	<0.001	307	77%
LoR (continuous)	0.542	0.165	0.001		
Speech style					
careful (baseline)				888	84%
Casual	-1.084	0.22	<0.001	1152	74%
Intercept	0.9145	1.925	0.635		

Table 7.1: the mixed-effects test for the influence of the social predictors on the use of the second-person feminine singular suffix

Although migrant speakers maintain a high usage frequency of their local variant [-ij], differences in speakers' use of this variable are statistically confirmed to be significant and they are attributed to all the above-mentioned social factors. For example, the negative coefficients registered for males, the casual speech style and with age entail that there is a higher use of the innovative variant [-ik] in those contexts. On the other hand, a higher use of the local variant is found in relation to

AoA and LoR as indicated by the positive coefficients. There are no significant interactions between those extra-linguistic variables. The effects of these predictors are further clarified below.

7.1.2 The influence of the social predictors on the use of the second-person feminine singular suffix

7.1.2.1 Gender

It can be seen in Figure 7.1 that male speakers are more advanced in using the new variant [-ik] than females who strictly adhere to the use of the local [-iʃ] (98%) and Table 7.1 confirms that this difference is statistically significant ($p=0.007$).

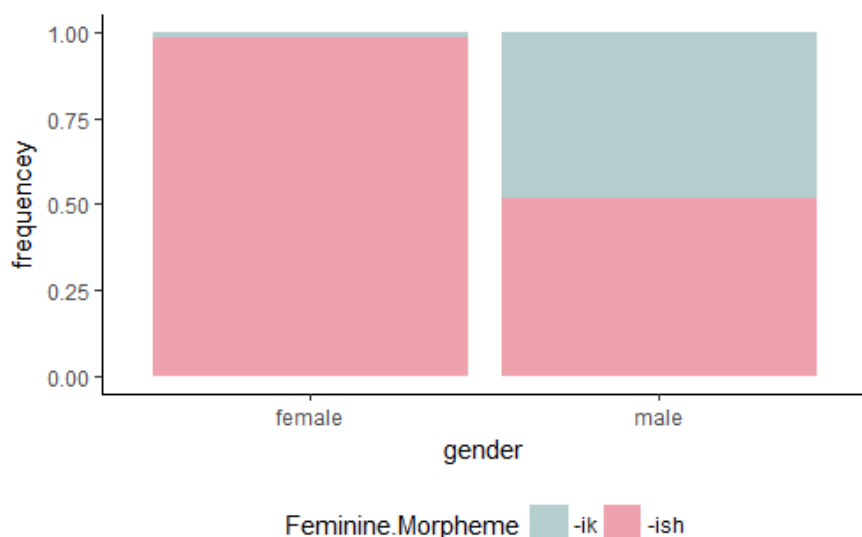


Figure 7.1: the effect of gender on the use of the second-person feminine singular suffix

7.1.2.2 Age

Despite [-ik] being minimally used in the sample, it can be seen in Figure 7.2 that a reduction in the use of the local affricated variant is visible among speakers in their mid-twenties and an increase of [-ik] is especially clear among speakers older than 40. This pattern is significant ($p=0.008$) and the decreasing slope is indicative of a generational change (see 4.2.2).

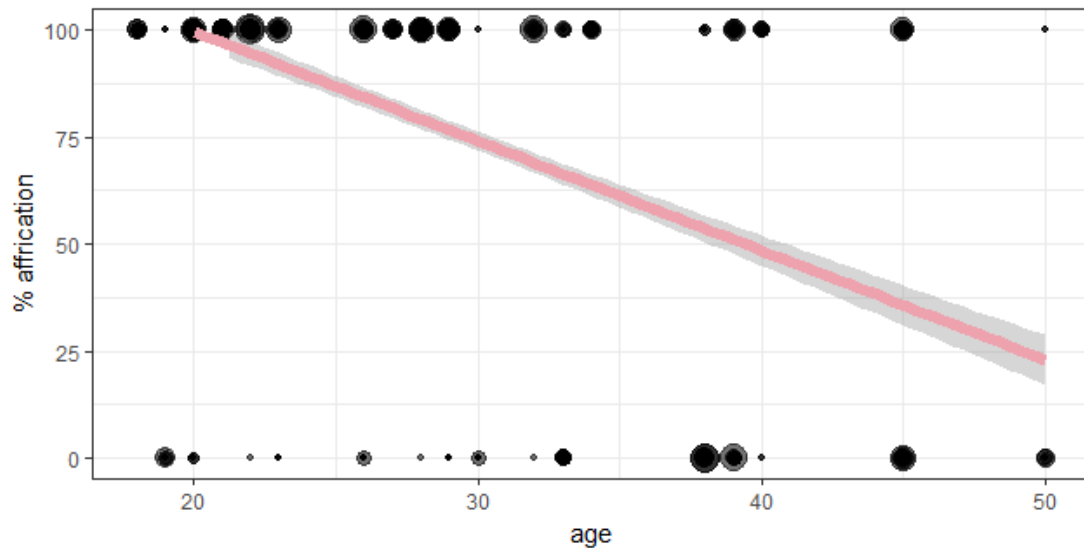


Figure 7.2: the effect of age on the use of the second-person feminine singular suffix

Although both age and gender are significant, the mixed-effects test confirms that the interaction between them is insignificant.

7.1.2.3 AoA

AoA has also been confirmed to be significant in the variation towards using the variant [-ik] ($p < 0.05$). As seen in Figure 7.3, although the affricated variant is dominant across all the AoA groups (which is also indicated by the positive coefficients in Table 7.1), the older the AoA, the more likely a speaker is going to shift to the use of this supralocal variant. On the other hand, an AoA of less than 18 years is linked to a higher use of the local affricated variant [-iʃ].

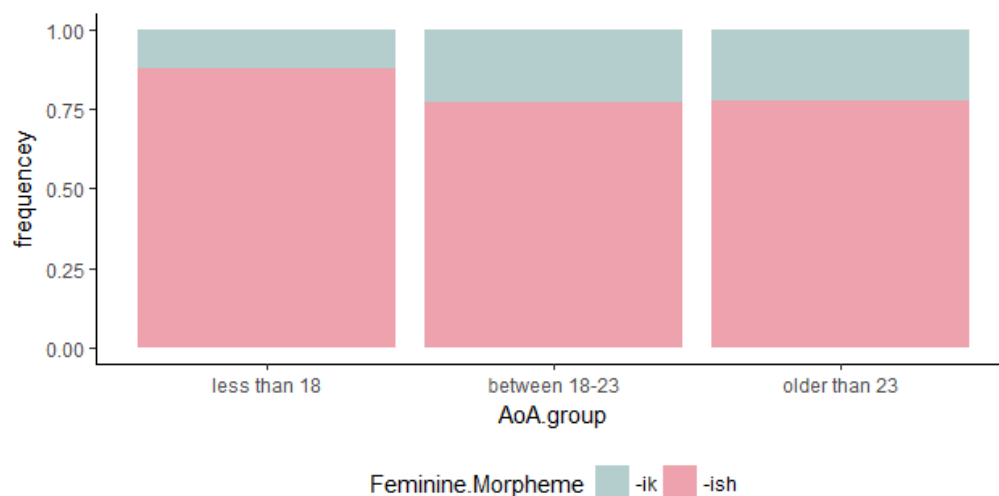


Figure 7.3: the effect of AoA on the use of the second-person feminine singular suffix

7.1.2.4 LoR

Table 7.1 statistically confirms the influence of LoR in the use of the second-person feminine singular suffix with a $p\text{-value} < 0.001$ and the coefficients support that the affricated variant dominates in the data. Yet, as displayed in Figure 7.4, there is a negative relationship between LoR and local use of this variable. In other words, longer LoR leads to a higher use of the supralocal variant.

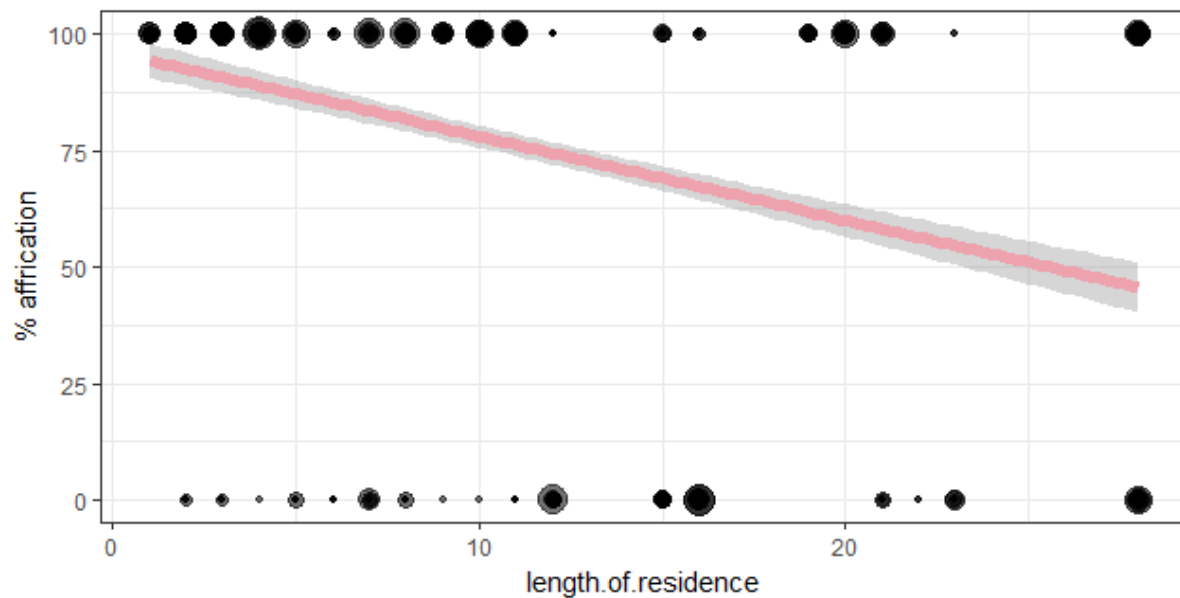


Figure 7.4: the effect of LoR on the use of the second-person feminine singular suffix

7.1.2.5 Speech style

Interestingly, when the use of the second-person feminine suffix is tested in relation to speech style, it appears that the use of the supralocal form [-ik] occurs within the casual style more than the careful one. This pattern is displayed in Figure 7.5 and the model in Table 7.1 confirms that style is a significant predictor ($p < 0.001$).

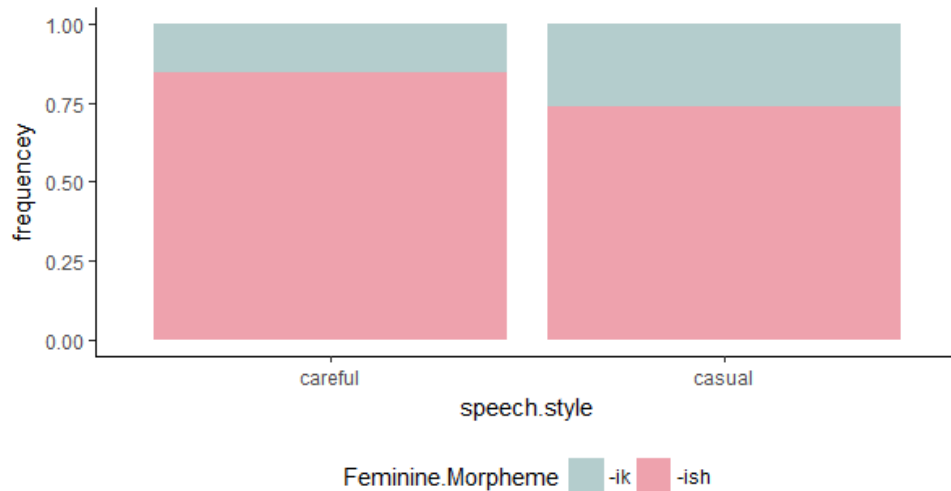


Figure 7.5: the effect of speech style on the use of the second person feminine singular suffix

In brief, the above analyses have shown that Nizwa migrants in Muscat retain their local use of the ND second-person feminine singular suffix [-iʃ]. Nevertheless, an evident tendency to adopt the new variant [-ik] is observed to be linked to older age and AoA and longer LoR especially in the casual style context and amongst men.

7.1.3 Second person feminine singular suffix discussion

This study reveals that there is dialect maintenance evident from the use of the affricated ND form of the second-person feminine singular suffix since the supralocal variant [-ik] is of low frequency. This finding is contrary to Al-Essa's (2008) reports on the variation in the affrication of this suffix in the Najdi dialect of migrants in Jeddah (see 2.4.3) which show a dialect divergence towards the supralocal non-affricated form. The pattern found amongst the Nizwa migrants is typical of a stable linguistic variation (Gardiner and Nagy 2017:78). This variation is significantly affected by all the social factors which emphasizes that "[n]ot all variability and heterogeneity in language structure involves change" (Weinreich et al. 1968:188).

Gender differences in the use of the supralocal variant [-ik] show that men surpass women in using the supralocal form. This pattern is contradictory to Al-Essa's findings reported in (2.4.3) which show that women lead the change in the second-person feminine singular suffix among the Najdi speakers in Jeddah. In fact, the pattern amongst Nizwa migrants is comparable to male-led change

found in other languages and communities (e.g. Labov 1972d; Trudgill 1972; Taqi 2010; Baranowski and Turton 2015; Yaseen 2018). The distinction between men and women's use of variables where men lead a change has been linked to whether a change is old or new (Labov 1984, in Eckert 1989). Sharma (2012) also reports on the reversal of gender role in her investigation of Asian speakers in London. She (2012:466) explains "that this reversal relates to a transformation in the community from a more Asian, lower middle class arrangement of gender roles to a typically British lower middle class and working class arrangement". Having said this, the male-led change in this variable of ND could be justified in a different way. The finding that the second-person feminine singular morpheme is a stable sociolinguistic variable makes it understandable to see men using a higher frequency of the [-ik] variant as this pattern is consonant with Labov's principle I of language change (see 4.2.1). This principle suggests that women are more conservative in stable linguistic variables (Labov 1990:206) therefore we see the female migrants' conformity to their local form [-ij]. Interestingly, this male-led change can indicate that this is a case of prestige being assigned to the variant [-ik] within this group of speakers. Given that the variant [-ik] corresponds to the SA form of this variable (i.e. [-ki]), it can be inferred that the male speakers' use of this form is a way to reflect their social status as educated individuals. This is especially true for the male speakers aged 25+ years (MR, NAZ, SAZ, SK, SF, YSG, SH, YB and KNS) who are highly educated and hold prestigious work positions (see Table 7.2 and the discussion below).

Closely related to the above analysis, the shift towards the supralocal variant [-ik] is noticeable already at the age of 25 years and the variation aggregates amongst the speakers of older ages. Most dialect studies in Arabic which distinguish between old and young speakers report on a high local use by older speakers and innovative use by younger ones (e.g. Al-Essa 2009; Al-Rojaei 2013; Assiri 2014; Yaseen 2015; Abu Ain 2016; Al-Wer and Al-Qahtani 2016). Eckert (1997:164) captures this age effect by stating that "adolescence is the life stage in which speakers push the envelope of variation, [and] conservatism is said to set in during adulthood". However, the analysis of the relation between age and the Nizwa migrants' use of the second-person feminine singular suffix shows that the dynamic of the change in this community works in a reversed manner where the shift towards the new variant is observed by the age of mid-twenties onward (25+). Such patterns are also reported by Yoneda (1997) who describes a standardization process for the Tsuruoka dialect of Japan which began among speakers aged 25-34 years and was then followed by younger and older speakers as well. Similarly, Paunonen (1994) clarifies that in her sample of Finnish speakers in Helsinki, some women diverge from their local use of the variable /d/ as they get older due to shifts in their social positions and power status.

Guided by these findings, it is reasonable to ask ‘what it is about the age of 25+ that triggers such shifts in Nizwa migrants’ speech?’ Resorting to the issue of social position and status as a source for the high increase in using the supralocal variants, comparably to Paunonen (1994), can in fact help explain the pattern presented by Nizwa migrants. A close examination of the speakers in the sample reveals that the different life trajectories that are present amongst those aged 25+ may have contributed to the increased divergence from their local use. Mainly, the divergence can be attributed to the increased level of education and the types of occupation that some of the speakers have as shown in Table 7.2.

Speaker	Age	Educational level	Occupation
MR	45	PhD	university lecturer
NAZ	40	PhD	university lecturer
SAZ	39	MA	university lecturer
SK	39	MA	airline management
SF	33	MA	university lecturer
YSG	33	MA	engineer
AK	28	MA	engineer
ZAA	28	MA	engineer
SH	50	Bachelor	oil company department manager
YB	45	Bachelor	administrative manager in university
SHK	40	Bachelor	teacher
KNS	38	Bachelor	administrative manager in university
AH	38	Bachelor	senior engineer
THA	29	Bachelor	university department secretary
NK	28	Bachelor	senior engineer
LAA	26	Bachelor	public relations agent

Table 7.2: educational levels and occupations of speakers aged 25+

Evidently, the majority of the speakers who fall within the age group of 25-50 years either hold a postgraduate degree or work in a prestigious job which requires extensive inter-dialectal contact particularly with people in senior positions. Essentially, all speakers aged 25+ are involved in the linguistic marketplace which hence affects their linguistic behavior (see 4.2.2). In the words of Milroy and Gordon (2003:97), “language constitutes symbolic capital which is potentially convertible into economic capital” and speakers’ employment might require them to use marketable/prestigious linguistic variants. Indeed, Nizwa migrants share similar views on “the importance of the legitimized language in ... [their] socioeconomic [lives]” (Sankoff and Laberge 1978:241). During the interviews, most of the participants expressed the view that they felt it

necessary to modify their way of talking, in order to avoid negative impressions about them. For example, participant YB stated the following:

(1)

“Of course it is important [to change my dialect]. Not because I am ashamed, but sometimes it is because the situation requires that. For example, when you talk with your supervisors or non-Omani colleagues... Also, sometimes people evaluate you and judge how cultured you are by the way you talk. So, I use the suitable language that fits the situation”.

Such testimonials reflect the migrants’ awareness of the importance of marketing oneself through language, especially in the workplace. Consequently, this results in a convergence towards the supralocal variant of the second-person feminine singular suffix.⁵³ Thus, the unexpected trend presented here takes us back to Eckert’s (1997:152) aforementioned statement that “progress through the life course involves changes” in individuals’ social aspects which in turn affect their linguistic practices” (see 4.2.2).

The effect of speakers’ involvement in the linguistic marketplace results in a steady drop in the use of the local affricated variant starting from the age of 25 and above. However, it is not possible at this stage to confirm whether the relationship between age and this variable is indicative of age-grading (see 4.2.2) which is a typical trend found in cases where innovation is linked to speakers’ employment (e.g. Chambers 1995, 2003; Sankoff 2005; Sankoff and Wagner 2006, 2011). This is because within the sample, all members of the older ages are still working and no evidence of a rise in affrication is available for speakers of ND after the age of retirement which is 65 years and above. Thus, further data is required to validate/refute age-grading for this variable.

Likewise, AoA may be seen to correlate negatively with the use of the local affricated variant. Obviously, the affricated form is highly frequent amongst the participants of all AoA groups, yet it can still be clear that speakers with an AoA of 18 years and above are more likely to use the supralocal form [-ik] whereas those with an AoA of less than 18 years are more reluctant to use it. These results indicate that acquisition of the D2 morphological features like the feminine suffix is possible in adulthood. This effect of AoA can be interpreted by linking it to the effect of the

⁵³ This interpretation applies to the age effect on syncope as well.

speakers' social networks presented in (6.1.4.1). The intensive local contact with family within the speakers with AoA of less than 18 years leads to the conservative use of this variable. On the other hand, the level of involvement in the educational-setting for speakers whose AoA is 18-23 years and in the workplace for those whose AoA is 24+ years are factors which affect the level of inter-dialectal contact and hence trigger the change towards the supralocal form. Such arguments tie with Al-Wer's (2002:42) view that in Arabic communities, the level of education does not correlate with linguistic usage, yet it "is actually an indicator of the nature and extent of the speakers' social contacts".

Longer LoR is also associated with higher use of the supralocal variant [-ik]. Figure 7.4 shows that the decrease in the local ND use of this variable is visible after ten years of residence in Muscat. Particularly, the highest rate of the decrease in the affrication appears after a LoR of 20+ years. Such a range is much longer than that reported by Tagliamonte and Molfenter (2007) in their study of Canadian children's acquisition of British English features. Tagliamonte and Molfenter (2007:671) clarify that Canadian children acquire native-like features of York English within 6 years. Similarly, Berthele's (2002) study of the acquisition of the prestigious Bernese dialect by children speaking another Swiss German dialect also shows that it took only two years for the children to acquire a consistent idiolect which is considered a classroom variety for them. Results from my study can be indicative that adults may require a longer length of stay in order to succeed in acquiring new dialectal morpho-phonological features by comparison to children. Interestingly, this finding from ND challenges Kerswill's (1994:64) account that LoR is influential for SDA within the first years, but it ceases to be so afterwards. This is because amongst the Nizwa migrants, the first years do not appear to be critical.

Although there are no significant interactions between LoR and the other social predictors, it can still be understood that these constraints cannot be dissociated from one another. Kerswill (1994:64) for example acknowledges that LoR increases with speakers' age which can affect the result of the length of stay. Thus, attention is given to the use of the second-person feminine singular suffix in relation to speakers' different characteristics. If we consider the speakers who have the longest LoR (i.e. 20+), it turns out that these are: YB, SH, SAZ, AK and HK. Yet, those speakers have different patterns for using the suffix since YB, SH and SAZ do use the variant [-ik] whereas AK and HK only use [-ij]. The following table shows the respective characteristics of these speakers.

Speaker	Gender	Age	AoA	LoR	[-ik]%
YB	Male	45	18-23	20+	60%
SH	Male	50	18-23	20+	89%
SAZ	Male	39	24 years	20+	35% ⁵⁴
AK	male	28	less than 18	20+	0%
HK	female	20	less than 18	20+	0%

Table 7.3: the characteristics of the speakers whose LoR is 20+

Table 7.3 shows that YB, SH, SAZ and AK have characteristics that are associated with the variant [-ik] since they are all males whose ages are within the category of 25-50 years. Also, YB and SAZ have an AoA of 18-23 years and SH's AoA is 24 years. As discussed above, late movers are more likely to diverge from ND and this is applicable to YB, SH and SAZ. On the other hand, HK is a 20-year old female and such features are linked to the local affricated use. Most importantly, HK and AK have an AoA of less than 18 years which is also linked with local use. Indeed, both speakers use the variant [-iʃ] only despite their long LoR. These observations suggest that the effect of AoA overrides the effect of gender, age and LoR. The personally-patterned variation observed for HK and AK is comparable to findings reported by other researchers (e.g. Dorian 2010, Sabino 2012). For example, Dorian (2010) investigates phonological, morphological and syntactic variation in East Sutherland Gaelic with reference to variables that have multiple variants. She (2010:292) reports that three participants are “conspicuously high-variation speakers... while [one participant is] an exceptionally low-variation speaker”. She clarifies that the former speakers show high use of all variants for certain variables while the latter speaker is more conservative and opts for a certain variant for each variable. Dorian explains that such a degree of the variation in using the variants reflects speakers' individuality. HK and AK in this study also diverge in their variant selection from the other speakers in the long LoR group. Their pattern, however, is still linked to the trend presented by the speakers with young AoA.

Moving on to the stylistic variation associated with this variable, it appears that it is comparable to that found in syncope where the supralocal variant is used at a higher rate in the casual style while

⁵⁴ In fact, SAZ clarified that he used to use [-ik] regularly, but he consciously reversed it and started affricating it again. This is discussed below and his comment is cited in (2a).

the frequency of the local variant increases in the careful style. This stylistic variation reflects the fact that:

“For a stable sociolinguistic variable, regular stratification is found for each contextual style; and conversely, all groups shift along the same stylistic dimension in the same direction with roughly slopes of style-shifting” Labov (2002:86).

However, this stylistic variation contradicts the documented accounts of the use of innovative variants in the careful style context (e.g. Trudgill 1999b, Stuart-Smith 1999). In fact, the idea of affiliation to a Nizwa identity discussed in (6.1.4.1) is again relevant to the regular stratification of the contextual use of this variable. Indeed, some participants either explicitly referred to their use of the [-iʃ] variant or alluded to it as being a way to signal membership to Nizwa as shown in the statements in (2).

(2)

- a. **SAZ:** “Lately I worked hard to retrieve my dialect... For example, the case of /ʃ/ as in /ʃind-iʃ/ ‘you (fem.sg) have’ and so on, I managed to retrieve it. I did not keep using this [local / ʃ/] by default, but I actually consciously worked on getting it back [after I was using /k/]. I have realized that I am losing my identity, so at least I could try to protect it [by keeping my dialect]”.
- b. **MSR:** “There are people who change their dialect to, as one would say, show off. For example, [in ND] we pronounce the /q/ and /g/ sounds, but some girls change them to /g/ and /y/ [respectively]. Even here in university, we see girls from Nizwa [doing this]... I mean even the way they dress and appear you feel they are not one of us... they changed... For example, they say /ke:f-ik/ [instead /ke:f-iʃ/] ‘how are you.(2p.fem?)”.

Such statements reflect an awareness of this salient feature of ND and (in the first statement) desire to affiliate oneself with a Nizwa identity. This finding can be compared to Mees and Collins’ (1999) reports on the infiltration of /t/-glottalization into the speech of working class females in Cardiff. According to Mees and Collins (1999:195-196), urban varieties of British English are characterized with the use of the glottalization of the alveolar voiceless stop /t/. Although this feature is not a characteristic of Cardiff English, middle-class speakers have shown a tendency to use it while the elision of /t/ is favored by working-class members. Yet, based on evidence from a panel study that Mees and Collins (1999) conducted, /t/-glottalization is reported to spread amongst the working-class speakers. Mees and Collins (1999:198-200) find that the females who show the highest use

of glottalization are those with “ambitious career plans and determination”. They have re-defined themselves and transferred to a higher socioeconomic class so that they now do not affiliate with the working-class at all. This transfer resulted in the linguistic shift from eliding the /t/ to glottalizing it. The pattern presented by the Nizwa migrants’ use of the feminine suffix is surely in an opposite direction from that observed in Cardiff English, i.e. the shift is towards a local variant instead of an urban one. However, in both cases speakers’ affiliations and self-characterization clearly motivate their linguistic choices; therefore, Mees and Collins (1999:198) stress that it is important “to consider the personalities and backgrounds of the individuals concerned”.

Although the above statements by Nizwa migrants show that they consider this local form as an indicator of their Nizwa identity, the statistically significant style-shifting ($p < 0.001$) affirms that overall, this linguistic variable is not a sociolinguistic indicator, rather it is a linguistic marker (e.g. Labov 1972a; Trudgill 1986; Kerswill and Williams 2002; Smith et al. 2013). As explained by Jansen (2014:91):

“Indicators show only limited style shifting, while markers are subject to it. The comparison of indicators and markers in terms of awareness shows that speakers are usually not aware of linguistic variation in indicators, while markers are sometimes commented on, and style shifting in markers points to an awareness of the variation”.

Further discussion on the role of identity will follow in (8.2.3). The next section reviews the variation in the use of the future morpheme.

7.2 Future marker

The data elicitation process produced 1550 tokens with the future morphemes [ʔa-], [ba-] and *raħ*. The morphemes [ʔa-] and [ba-] were regularly used at rates of 47% and 50% respectively, while the rate of using *raħ* is only 3% which indicates that this variant is still making its way into the dialect of the Nizwa migrants in Muscat.

7.2.1 The mixed-effects logistic regression model

It should be noted that the mixed-effects model for this variable is calculated slightly differently from the other variables in this study, which is not unusual in sociolinguistic studies that examine the use of different linguistic variables (see Gorman and Johnson 2013 and Johnson 2014 for a good review on mixed-effects models and incorporating random effects). For the future morpheme, the best model is calculated by having AoA divided into two groups which are: less than 18 years and 18 years and above (18+). In addition, the model includes a random effect for speaker by task. This is because the data for this variable is mainly supplied by the map-task and to a lesser degree by the interview and there is evidence that speakers react to those tasks differently. For example, some speakers show an increase in the rate of using the local variant [ʔa-] in the map-task compared to the interview (e.g. LAA, RNK, RSS, SF, SH, SHSA). Other speakers; however, have increased their use of the supralocal variants [ba-] and *raħ* (e.g. MSS, YSG). Similarly, the map-task proved to be a context in which there is a complete shift to either the local form (e.g. by speakers ISH, ZAA, YB) or to the supralocal variants (e.g. KNS). Such observations suggest that there are subgroups of speakers who deviate from the overall mean within the sample indicating that there may be a bias in the variation. Hence, these deviations should be accounted for in the model to balance the bias (Clark and Linzer 2012) which is achieved by adding the random effect for speaker by task. The strength of this model is confirmed by a model comparison carried out using ANOVA and the *model.sel* function of the *MuMIn* package in R. Table 7.4 provides the mixed-effects model for the use of the future morpheme in relation to the social factors of gender, age, AoA, LoR and speech style and the linguistic factors of proximity in the future, grammatical person⁵⁵ and animacy

⁵⁵ It should also be noted that in the data I had the grammatical person as: 1st person singular, 1st person plural, 2nd person singular, 2nd person plural, 3rd person singular and 3rd person plural. When I ran the mixed-effects test, I used a model that included the subject listed as those 6 groups and I had another model which collapsed the grammatical person into 1st person, 2nd person and 3rd person as seen in Table 7.4. A model comparison confirmed that the model which included the collapsed categories had a significant support over the model which differentiated between the singular and plural voice of subjects. Therefore, I am providing the results in Table 7.4 (and subsequently figure 7.12) with three categories of voice of subject based on this finding.

of the subject. In this model, the random effect for speaker by task is 14.5 and the standard deviation is 3.8.

Predictor	Estimates	S.E	Pr(> z)	N	% [?a-]
Gender					
female (baseline)				701	47%
male	0.731	1.211	0.54	849	47%
Age (continuous)	-0.008	0.115	0.94		
AoA					
less than 18 years (baseline)				214	92%
18 years and above	-4.079	1.909	0.03	1336	40%
LoR (continuous)	-0.131	0.114	0.25		
Speech style					
careful (baseline)				643	59%
casual	-2.012	1.024	0.04	907	39%
Proximity in the future					
near future (baseline)				1014	51%
far event	0.307	0.319	0.34	299	39%
conditional event	0.894	0.275	0.001	237	42%
Grammatical person					
1 st person (baseline)				281	43%
2 nd person	0.048	0.329	0.88	133	39%
3 rd person	-0.577	0.296	0.051	1136	49%
Animacy of the subject					
human (baseline)				662	42%
non-human	0.625	0.349	0.07	888	51%
Intercept	5.097	2.191	0.02		

Table 7.4: the mixed-effects test for the influence of the social and linguistic predictors on the use of the future morpheme

Clearly, AoA and speech style are the only social predictors which significantly influence the choice of the future morpheme and the negative coefficients indicate that older AoA and the casual speech context are associated with an increased use of the supralocal variants. Similarly, proximity in the future is a significant linguistic predictor for this variable and the positive coefficient indicates that this context, specifically the conditional event, is associated with a higher use of the local variant. The details of these effects are presented below.

7.2.2 The influence of the social predictors on the use of the future marker

7.2.2.1 Gender

Gender is insignificant for the avoidance of the local future marker ($p=0.82$) since male and female migrants equally use the ND marker [ʔa-] at a rate of 47%. This use is illustrated in Figure 7.6. The figure also shows that males marginally exceed females in using the particle *rah* whereas females have a higher frequency for the use of the particle [ba-].

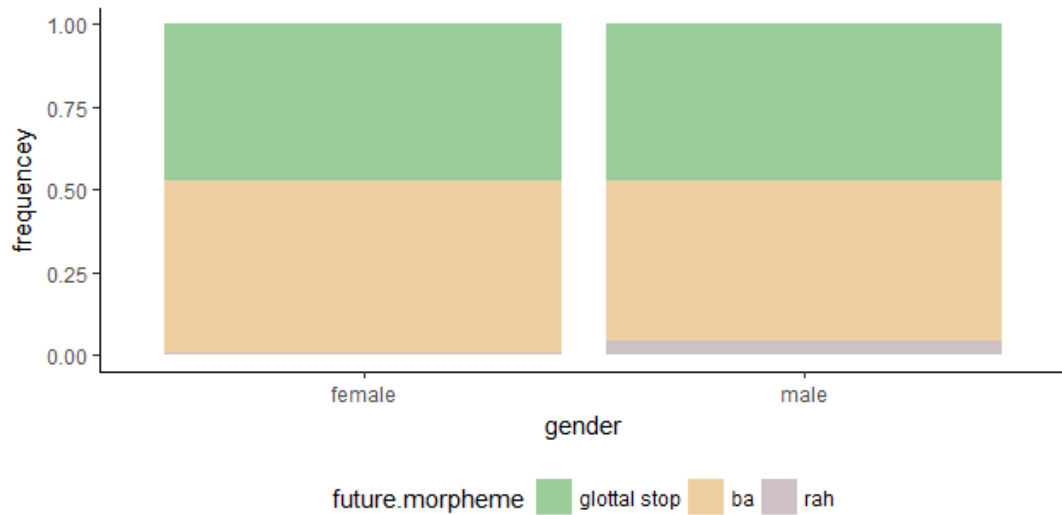


Figure 7.6: the effect of gender on the use of the future morpheme

7.2.2.2 Age

Figure 7.7 shows the link between age and the use of the local future form. Although the figure shows a small decrease in this variant as speakers' age increases, this reduction is statistically insignificant ($p=0.82$).

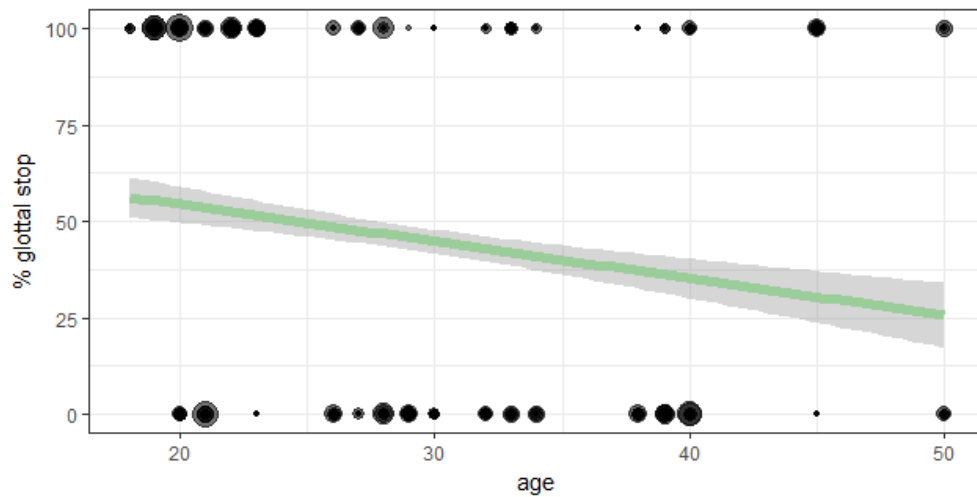


Figure 7.7: the effect of age on the use of the local future variant

7.2.2.3 AoA

The effect of AoA on the variation in the use of the future morpheme is displayed in Figure 7.8. The figure shows a high use of [ʔa-] by the speakers whose AoA is less than 18 years (92% as seen in Table 7.4). On the other hand, the supralocal variants, especially [ba-], are more often used by those with an AoA of 18+ years (60% as per Table 7.4). These differences are validated to be statistically significant ($p=0.03$) as shown in the test in Table 7.4.

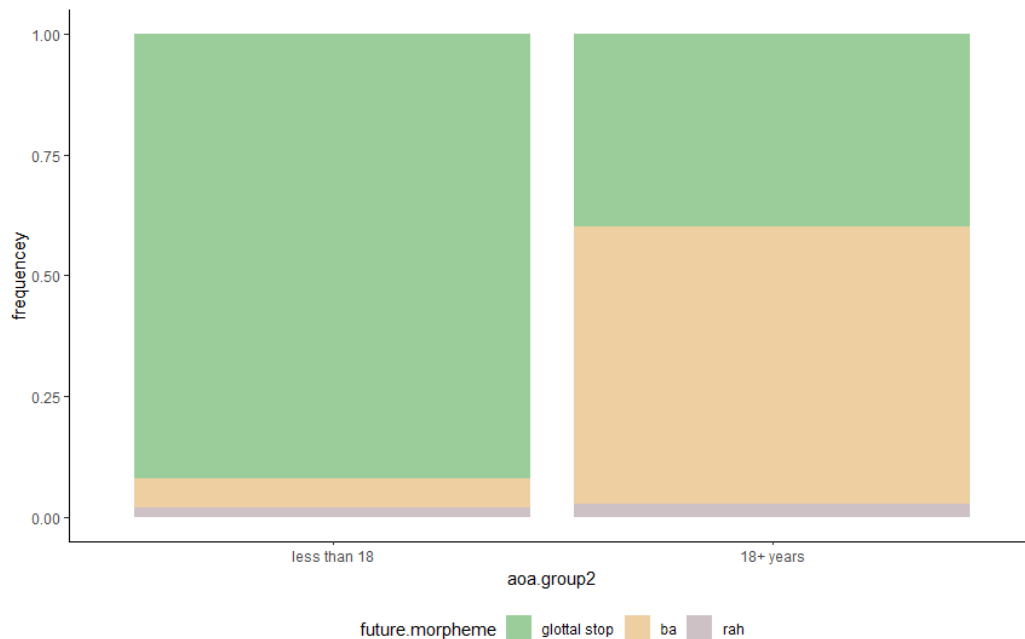


Figure 7.8: the effect of AoA on the use of the future variants

7.2.2.4 LoR

Table 7.3 shows that the effect of LoR on the variable use of the future morpheme is insignificant ($p=0.25$). As evident in Figure 7.9, apart from a minor decrease in the use of the [ʔa-], no major changes can be seen throughout the range of LoR.

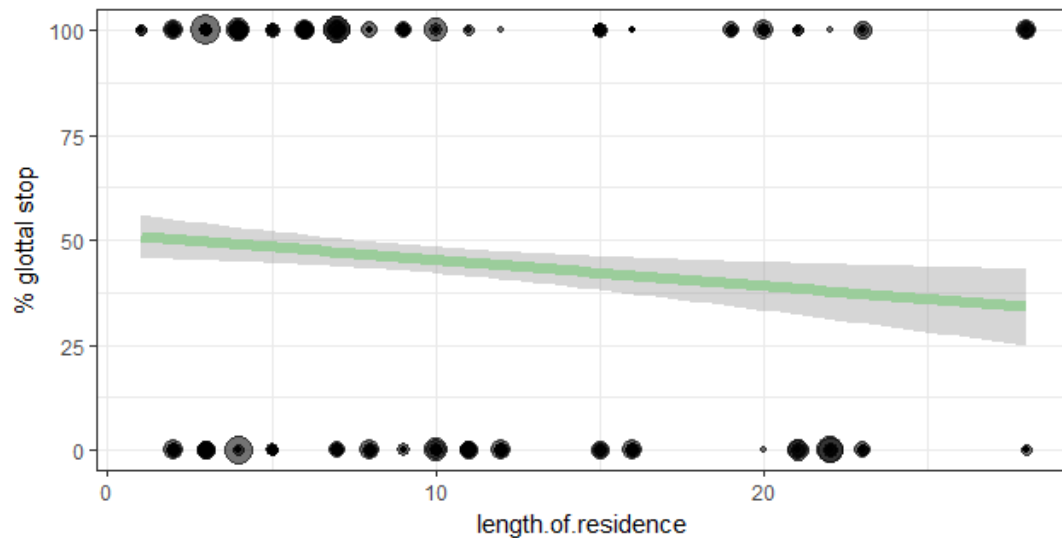


Figure 7.9: the effect of LoR on the use of the local future variant

7.2.2.5 Speech style

The final social factor to be reviewed is the speech style which has been confirmed to be statistically significant ($p=0.04$). The use of the future morpheme in the different speech styles is depicted in Figure 7.10. Clearly, the ND future marker [ʔa-] is dominant in the careful speech style more than the casual style where more occurrences of the new variants [ba-] and *rah* are recorded.

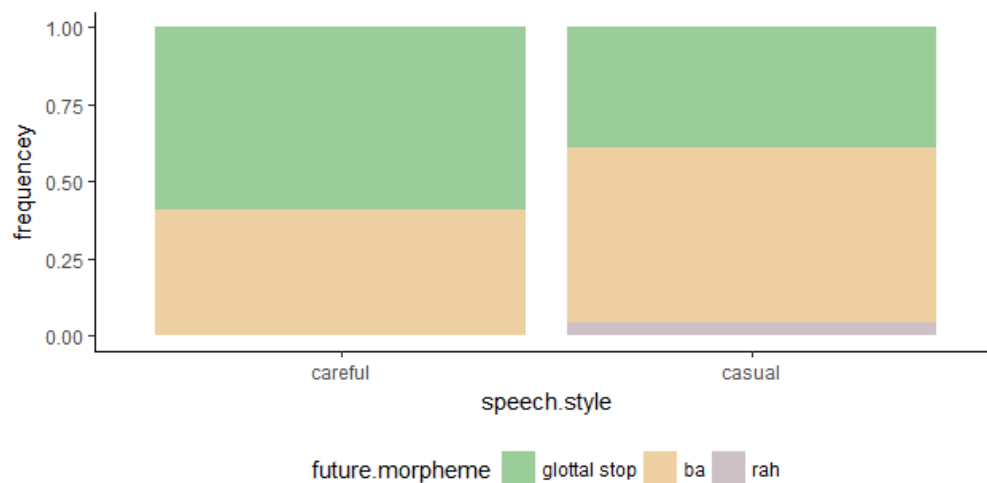


Figure 7.10: the effect of speech style on the use of the future morpheme

This striking pattern is comparable to that found for the effect of speech style on vowel syncope and the second-person feminine suffix (see 6.2.2.5 and 7.1.2.5).

I now turn to explain the role of the linguistic conditions in the use of the future morpheme.

7.2.3 The influence of the linguistic predictors on the use of the future marker

7.2.3.1 Proximity in the future

Figure 7.11 depicts the use of the future markers [ʔa-], [ba-] and *rah* in relation to the linguistic condition of proximity in the future which is outlined to refer to the parameters of near future, far event and conditional event.

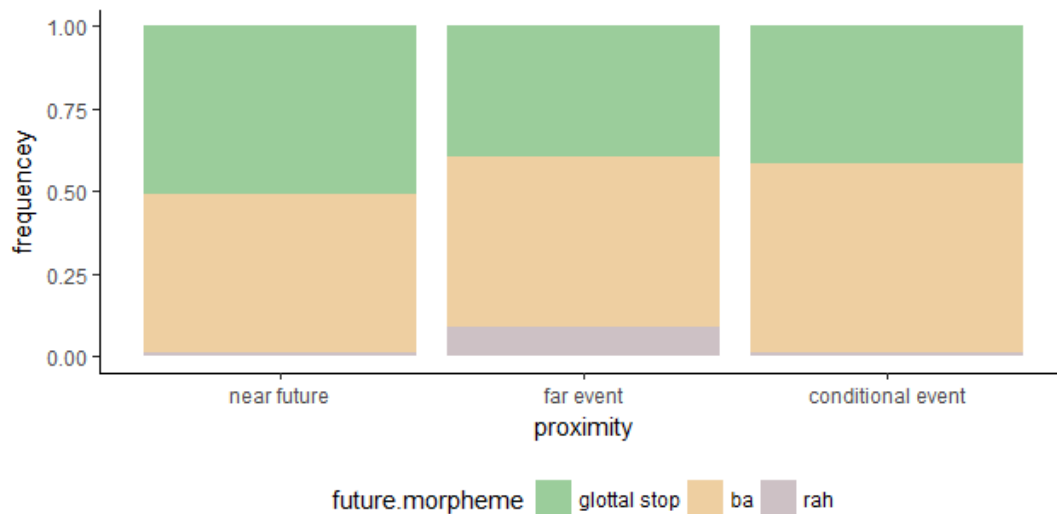


Figure 7.11: the effect of proximity in the future on the use of the future morpheme

This figure shows that in the near future contexts, there is a nearly parallel use of [ʔa-] and [ba-] while [ba-] and *rah* variants outnumber the glottal stop type in the contexts of far and conditional events. The figure also illustrates the fact that *rah* appears to be used with far events more than the other contexts. Table 7.4 shows that it is the variation in the conditional event that is most significant ($p=0.001$) and as discussed in (7.2.1), the positive coefficient of the conditional event indicates that there is a higher use of the local variant. However, Figure 7.11 shows that this context has a high use of [ba-]. This can be attributed to the fact that there are only 237 tokens of the future

variants in the conditional context. So, even though the variation in conditional events may seem to be in favor of the supralocal forms, the model confirms that when all other factors are taken into consideration, it is really the local variant that is attached to conditional events. In fact, the model in Table 7.4 also supports that when all factors are considered, the use of the supralocal variants in the near future is significant ($p=0.001$).⁵⁶

7.2.3.2 Grammatical person

The effect of the grammatical person on the use of the future morpheme is displayed in Figure 7.12.



Figure 7.12: the effect of grammatical person on the use of the future morpheme

Clearly, there are minimal differences between the three types of subject voice and the frequency of the future variants within them. The glottal stop is used in the third-person context slightly more than any other contexts. Likewise, [ba-] is recorded with first and second-persons more than the other variants while *rah* appears mostly with second and third-persons. Yet, the mixed-effects model in Table 7.4 confirms that this factor is statistically insignificant in the overall variation in the use of the future morpheme variable.⁵⁷

⁵⁶ This finding is revealed by re-ordering the levels of the proximity factor in the model. The coefficient for this factor is -0.894 which confirms the increased use of the supralocal variants in the context of near future.

⁵⁷ It should also be noted that in Table 7.4, the third-person subject has a p-value approaching significance ($p=0.051$). This indicates that it would be worth in future research obtaining further data on the role of grammatical person to better understand the effect of this factor.

7.2.3.3 Animacy of the subject

The effect of the animacy of the subject on the variable use of the future morpheme is illustrated in Figure 7.13. The figure shows that the ND variant [ʔa-] is marginally preferred with non-human subjects. On the other hand, [ba-] and *raħ* surpass [ʔa-] in the context of human subjects. Yet, as the model confirms, this difference is statistically insignificant ($p=0.07$).



Figure 7.13: the effect of animacy of the subject on the use of the future morpheme

To sum up, the analysis of the variable use of the future morpheme confirms that there is an ongoing change in the use of this morpheme as Nizwa migrants in Muscat show a shift towards the use of the new variants [ba-] and *raħ* over their local one [ʔa-]. This shift is strongly linked to the factors of AoA, speech style, and proximity in the future, but not to the factors of gender, age, LoR, grammatical person and animacy of the subject. A discussion of these findings is given below.

7.2.4 Future marker discussion

7.2.4.1 The effects of the social constraints

The supralocal future variants [ba-] and *raħ* are frequently used in the data although they do not entirely replace the local form [ʔa-]. This change supports the view that in contact situations “morphological categories and patterns are copied quite frequently” (Mithun 2012:15). For example, Mithun (2012) reports on the contact situation in Northern California between the Yuki

language and its neighboring Pomoan languages. This contact has led to the remodelling of the Yuki pronouns and noun case to be similar to those used in the Pomoan languages despite the unintelligibility of the two languages. Similarly, morphological levelling between varieties of the same language is not uncommon. For example, Cheshire et al. (1993) report on a reduction in the diversity of dialects in Britain and the levelling of dialects as a result of mixture and urbanization. For instance, they discuss the increased use of the demonstrative *them* as a preferred variant across urban centers through the UK (except for Glasgow). They also refer to the rise of *should of* throughout Britain which is a spoken form that is phonetically reduced from *should have*. Cheshire et al. (1993:63) also bring up Hughes and Trudgill's (1987) reference to the tendency to use adjectives with an adverbial function as a non-standard feature that is becoming common in urban varieties of British English (e.g. *quick* without the suffix *-ly*). Morphological restructuring is also discussed by Esch (2002) who focuses on the linguistic situation in Nancy in France. She reports on the levelling of standard French auxiliaries as a result of the merging with regional varieties. Comparably, in the current study, we see the contact situation in Muscat between mutually intelligible dialects leading to the change in ND morphology and the adoption of new future morphemes which have become a little more frequent than the local prefix.

The fact that the ND form of the future morpheme [ʔa-] is the same one used to express the first-person singular across the Arabic dialects has increased the likelihood for the change in this ND feature since this use could result in ambiguity (see 5.2.2.3). Adding to this, the speakers have constantly and explicitly stated that they want to be understood as shown in the statements below.

(3)

- a. **FSS** (18-years-old female): “Here in the university, we mix with people from other cities. Therefore, you need to use words and language that is shared with them... For the purpose of understanding I mean”.
- b. **RSS** (20-years-old female): “Sometimes yes, I need to change [my dialect] to a certain extent, but not the entire dialect. Sometimes, I change when the girl I talk to wouldn’t understand my way of talking”.
- c. **BYH** (29-years-old female): “People now change their way of talking to fit in with others because they do not understand the vocabulary we use for example”.
- d. **SHK** (40-years-old female): “I naturally change [my dialect at work in Muscat], so that I can communicate... For example, I have workmates from Al-Sharqiyah, Al-Dhahirah and Al-Batinah... and sometimes even the pronunciation of words differs. Also, sometimes the meaning can be different”.
- e. **MKA** (23-years-old male): “Especially in Muscat, you feel that you subconsciously change your dialect... Because now there is centralization in Muscat and you meet with people who have different ways of speaking. Therefore, we need to reach a mutual dialect, so we can understand each other”.
- f. **YSG** (32-years-old male): “There are words [in ND] that are difficult to understand by someone from another area. For example, someone from Al-Batinah or from the south of Oman. Therefore, I have to attend to this and use language that is familiar to them. Do not forget that when I move to Muscat, you mix with people from different areas, not just from one place”.
- g. **SH** (50-years-old male): “Now there is mixing with people from other areas... so when you talk, you try to use understandable words. We try to avoid some local words because other people will not understand them... Thus, one needs to avoid them”.

These testimonials stress that understanding is a priority to the Nizwa migrants in the inter-dialectal communication in Muscat which helps show how the communal change in the use of the future marker should be interpreted. The neutralization of the effects of gender, age and LoR is thus a reflection of the effect of the overall belief that miscommunication can happen and needs to be avoided. As seen in the above statements, the migrants, regardless of their gender, age and LoR, all agree that changing ND features is a necessity to facilitate understanding. This pattern is comparable to Shockey’s (1984) findings reported in (2.3) whereby Americans change their American English features to make themselves understandable in Britain. So, in contrast to the changes in the other variables (labialization, syncope, the second-person feminine singular suffix

and the *yes/no* question clitics), this change is not necessarily prompted by the desire for conformity with supralocal forms, rather it can be viewed to be motivated by a desire for intelligibility. This is based on the fact that in SA as well as modern Arabic dialects [ʔa-] is an inflectional affix that is attached to present verbs to indicate the grammatical category of first-person singular (Abboud 1979, Shamsan and Alttayib 2015). Such observation suggests that unlike the other variables, miscommunication is likely to arise when the local variant of the future marker is used more than when the other local forms are used (see 5.2.2.3). It is also worth mentioning that the significance of AoA is an indicator that the acquisition of the new future variants is confounded by the degree of exposure through speakers' social networks (see 6.1.4.1). Speakers whose AoA is less than 18 years are mostly exposed to the local variant [ʔa-] while more access to the supralocal variants [ba-] and *raħ* is expected for speakers whose AoA is 18+ years. This is because the latter group has the most inter-dialectal contact in the educational setting and workplace (see 8.2.2 for further details). Such influence for AoA also suggests that the acquisition of this feature can occur at any time (Kerswill 1996) and this can be a lifespan change (Sankoff 2005; Meyerhoff 2006).

Notably, despite the speakers' desire to avoid miscommunication, a style-shifting does occur whereby the supralocal variants are frequently used in the casual speech style while the ND variant is used at a higher rate within the monitored speech style which ties with Meyerhoff's (1994:6) contention that: "linguistic variation provides evidence that speakers' identifications are shifting, within and across communicative events". The discrepancy in speakers' orientations reflects a conflict between speakers' desire to affiliate themselves with a Nizwa identity (see 6.2.4.1) and their need to maintain an intelligible speech quality. The speakers' attitude is indeed a pivotal factor for this style-shifting. As Grenoble and Whaley (1998:24) write, "the subjective attitudes of a speech community towards its own and other languages are paramount for predicting language shift". Within the Nizwa migrants' community, the desire for understanding prevails in the casual style context where the supralocal variants dominate. On the other hand, speakers' desire for reflecting their Nizwa identity triumphs when they pay special attention to their language use. Further discussion on the effect of speakers' beliefs and attitudes on the change in ND is provided in (8.2.3).

7.2.4.2 The effects of the linguistic constraints

This study shows that the linguistic condition of proximity in the future is an influential factor in the convergence towards the supralocal variants [ba-] and *raħ*. The use of the supralocal variant

[ba-] occurs significantly in the near future context more than those pertaining to the far future and conditional events. The latter is actually associated with the use of the local variants. This observation suggests that the dialect of Nizwa migrants is an exception to Persson's (2008:27) finding on the extensive use of the future b-prefix in conditional clauses in GA. It also opposes Eades' (2012:58) finding regarding the use of the b-prefix in conditional statements in the Bedouin Sharqiyah dialect of Oman.

In fact, Eades explains that the use of the b-prefix in conditional sentences has no future reference. However, the data of Nizwa migrants' use of the b-prefix in conditional events shows that this prefix expresses futurity. Looking at examples for the use of the prefix in conditional sentences from Eades (4a.) and from my data (4b.), it appears that this may well be a key differentiating factor in usage between the ND migrants and the speakers of the Sharqiyah dialect.

(4)

- a. lo: y-ku:n ði:b ba-ya:-kil
 if it-be wolf will-it-eat
 'If/when there was a wolf, it would eat (Adapted from Eades 2012:58)

b. *Interviewer asks: where do you expect you will live in the future?*

ʔða hasʕal-t waðʕ:fah hina fa ʔaki:d ba-skin f-mascat⁵⁸
 If found-I job here so sure will-live in-Muscat
 'If I get a job here, I will sure live in Muscat'

To the Nizwa migrants, [ba-] in conditional contexts has no specific temporal meaning. As Schneider (2006:3) explains, these are "possible future events... yet uncertain and undefined". At the same time, the use of this prefix in conditional contexts can still be an indicator of futurity as it signals intention for carrying out an event and intention is one of the notions that are commonly correlated with the anticipation of future situations (Schneider 2006:3).

The results for the use of the future prefix also indicate that speakers of ND do not associate the distal future with any particular future variant. However, the future variants are not neutralized in terms of the temporal distance as the immediate future events are linked to the use of the supralocal variants. This finding can be related to Fehringer and Corrigan's (2015:15) report on the preference of *will* with distal future, but not in the context of imminent events in the early sub-corpus of

⁵⁸ This answer was given by many of the student participants.

Tyneside English. Yet, this trend amongst migrant speakers of ND is also contradictory to findings on the manner in which the English variants *will* and *going to* function as such reports show that proximity in the future reference has no significant effect on the choice between the two variants (as reported by Poplack and Tagliamonte 2000, Torres-Cacoullos and Walker 2009 and Fehringer and Corrigan 2015 discussed in (5.2.2.3.3.1)).

Likewise, the Nizwa migrants do not link any of the future variants to grammatical subjects. The fact that the prefix [ʔa-] is used as a marker for first-person across distinct varieties of Arabic does not seem to constrain the migrants from using it as a future marker in this context nor does it limit its use to second and third-person subjects. This is a contradictory finding from the patterns documented in English where the use of *will* can be linked to first-person and *going to* is preferred with second and third-person subjects (see 5.2.2.3.3.2).

Meanwhile, regarding the effect of animacy of the subject, the migrants do not distinguish between the human or non-human subjects while selecting the future variants. Such a result is similar to findings on the role of animacy of the subject on the choice of the English future marker. For example, Tagliamonte et al. (2014:33-35) report on the use of *going to* in different varieties of UK English showing that the significance of the animacy of the subject is collinear with speaker age such that animacy does not affect younger speakers' use of *going to*. Similarly, Poplack and Tagliamonte's (2000:333-335) study shows that in Canada, *going to* is favored in the non-human context within the mainstream Ottawa community, yet an advancement in using this variant with non-animate subjects is confirmed across all four remaining communities investigated in their study (see 5.2.2.3.3.3). The trend amongst Nizwa migrants is also parallel to the use of the b-prefix and *raħ* with animate and non-animate subjects in different varieties of Arabic (Persson 2008; Jarad 2013, 2014).

This ends the review of the morphological variables and I shall now proceed to the analysis of the syntactic variable tied to *yes/no* question clitics.

7.3 Yes/no question clitics

The data on *yes/no* question clitics consisted of 1516 tokens. The Nizwa dialect's clitics appeared in only 13% of the data while they were deleted in 87% of it. This trend confirms that the loss of these clitics is at an advanced stage. The sections below show the impact of social factors on this change.

7.3.1 The mixed-effects logistic regression model

Table 7.5 provides the results of the mixed-effects model which investigated the role of the social predictors of gender, age, AoA, LoR and speech style on the use of *yes/no* question clitics. It should be noted that in this model, random-effects were included for speaker and question number (in the judgment task). The random-effects for them are 4.084 and 0.63 respectively. Their respective standard deviations are 2.021 and 0.794.

Predictor	Estimates	S.E	Pr(> z)	N	% clitics
Gender					
female (baseline)				763	15%
male	0.219	.299	0.95	753	11%
Age (continuous)	0.024	0.161	0.88		
AoA					
less than 18years (baseline)				235	14%
between 18-23 years	-1.219	1.538	0.43	1035	15%
older than 23 years	-3.088	2.561	0.23	246	3%
LoR (continuous)	0.02	0.106	0.83		
Speech style					
careful (baseline)				1080	14%
casual	-0.762	0.278	0.006	436	11%
Intercept	-2.338	3.042	0.44		

Table 7.5: the mixed-effects test for the influence of the social predictors on the use of *yes/no* question clitics

Based on Table 7.5, it can be affirmed that the collective change towards the loss of *yes/no* question clitics is only affected by the speech style. There are also no significant interactions. Differences in speakers' gender, age, AoA and LoR have no impact whatsoever on the use of this variable. The negative coefficients of AoA and casual speech style indicate there is less use of the clitics in those contexts whereas the positive coefficients registered for males, age and LoR indicate that there is a higher use of clitics in relation to these factors. These results are illustrated in the figures within (7.3.2).

7.3.2.1 Gender

gender	no	yes
female	0.75	0.25
male	0.85	0.15

7.3.2.2 Age

The scatter plot displays the percentage of clitics used by age group. The y-axis, labeled '% clitics', ranges from 0 to 100. The x-axis, labeled 'age', ranges from 15 to 50. Data points are represented by black dots, with larger dots indicating a higher frequency of use. A yellow shaded area represents the distribution of clitic use across the age groups. The plot shows that clitic use is generally low (near 0%) for most age groups, with a notable increase in the percentage of clitics used for the age group 20-25, where it reaches approximately 70%.

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A stable use of *yes/no* question clitics is observed throughout the speakers' lifespans and although there seems to be a higher use of the clitics by younger speakers, this pattern has a rate of 20% and below. The insignificance of age for the use of this factor is confirmed in Table 7.5 with a p-value of 0.88.

7.3.2.3 AoA

Similarly to age, *yes/no* question clitics are minimally used by speakers of all AoA groups as displayed in Figure 7.16. Although a lower use of the clitics is visible among speakers whose AoA is older than 23 years, this difference is statistically insignificant given that the clitics are used with a rate of 15% and less by all AoA groups.

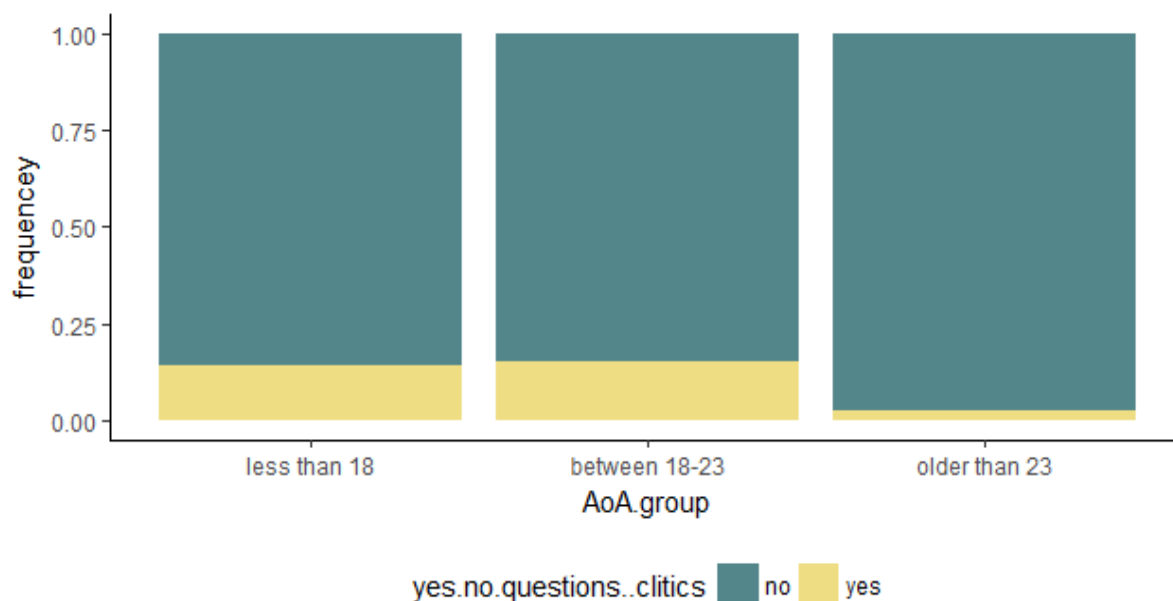


Figure 7.16: the effect of AoA on the use of *yes/no* question clitics

7.3.2.4 LoR

The role of LoR in the variable use of *yes/no* question clitics is displayed in Figure 7.17.

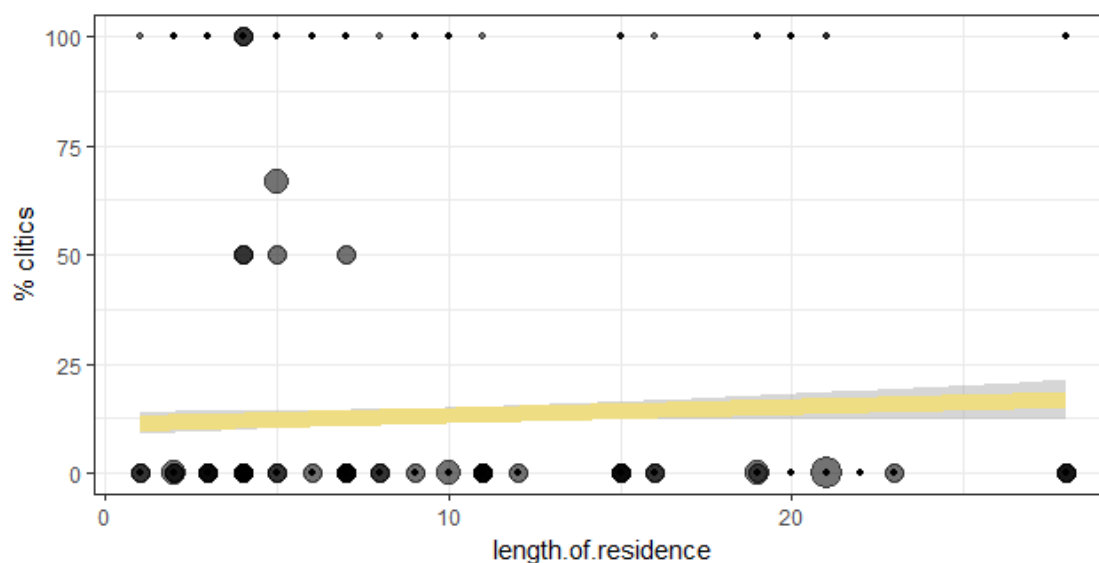


Figure 7.17: the effect of LoR on the use of *yes/no* question clitics

LoR is likewise confirmed to be statistically insignificant ($p=0.83$) in the change towards the loss of the clitics. Figure 7.17 shows a slightly higher concentration of clitics amongst speakers with short LoR while this pattern is not carried out by speakers with longer LoR. However, the frequencies of *yes/no* question clitics are generally low (15% or below) and this pattern is almost stable despite the change in the LoR.

7.3.2.5 Speech style

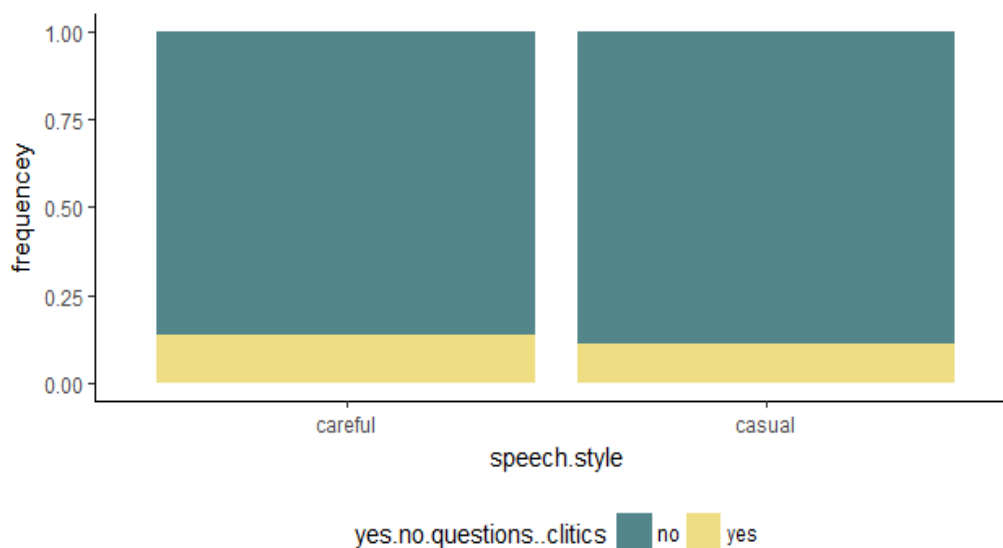


Figure 7.18: the effect of speech style on the use of *yes/no* question clitics

Speech style was, however, confirmed in Table 7.5 to be statistically significant ($p=0.006$) for the variation in the use of *yes/no* question clitics. Figure 7.18 shows that a small difference in the rate of the clitics is found between the two speech styles as more clitics appear in the careful style (14%) than the casual style (11%). This difference is however robust considering that the careful style consisted of over 1000 tokens.

The results confirm that there is a universal change towards the loss of the ND *yes/no* question clitics. On the one hand, this change is irrelevant to the factors of gender, age, AoA and LoR. On the other hand, speakers are observed to abandon the local *yes/no* clitics in the casual speech style more than the careful one.

7.3.3 *Yes/no* question clitics discussion

The loss of the *yes/no* question clitics is a prevalent feature in the speech of the migrants. Similar to the change in the future marker, no significant effects for gender, age, AoA and LoR are found. Such observations along with the fact there is an evident flat shape for the age effect in Figure 7.15 support a proposal that this is a communal progressive change (see 4.2.2). Additionally, the absence of age effects on the decline in the local use of these clitics supports the view that the grammaticalization of this loss is at an advanced stage since even older participants minimally use these clitics. Furthermore, the lack of the influence of AoA indicates that the deletion of the *yes/no* question clitics is a feature that can be learned throughout a speaker's lifespan (Kerswill 1996).

The shift to clitic-less *yes/no* questions by Nizwa migrants can be compared to accounts of the spread of syntactic features amongst British dialects. For example, Coupland (1988:35) mentions that there is a common tendency to use specific syntactic structures across British dialects (e.g. multiple negation, using *never* as past tense negative, absence of plural marking, reducing complex prepositions 'e.g. *up to/up in* > *up*' and regularizing reflexive pronouns 'e.g. *themselves, hisself*'). He explains that such usage does not mark regional provenance, but rather it signals speakers' alignment with socioeconomic class. Likewise, Beal (1993:212) states that Tyneside English shares many grammatical features with Scots and Irish dialects (e.g. plural *yous*, inverting the subject and auxiliary in embedded questions, *for to* + infinitive etc.) due to their "common linguistic heritage and influence from immigration". In addition, Cheshire et al. (1993:64-65) identify some grammatical features which have become frequent across urban and regional British centers. Table 7.6 presents some of these features with their rates of occurrence.

Feature	Frequency
Absence of plural marking	87.5%
<i>what</i> as subject relative pronoun	86.3%
<i>never</i> as past tense negator	85%
<i>there was</i> with plural notional subject	85%
<i>there's</i> with plural notional subject	82.5%
perfect participle <i>sat</i> after auxiliary BE	82.5%
<i>ain't/in't</i>	82.5%
<i>give me it</i>	82.5%
perfect participle stood after auxiliary BE	82.5%
Non-standard was	82.5%

Table 7.6: grammatical features that were reported to be spreading in British dialects in the 1990s (Adapted from Cheshire et al. 1993:64-65)

Thus, the current study ties with such accounts and shares with them the proposal that social indexing by speakers contributes to the grammatical reorganization of dialects. In Muscat, the Nizwa migrants are acutely aware that their local use of the clitics is stigmatized. This feature has been a subject for “dialect performances and impersonations” (Meyerhoff 2006:22) and it is thus considered a *stereotype*, i.e. a linguistic feature that is widely recognized, commented on and discussed (Meyerhoff 2006:22).⁵⁹ For instance, some of the participants explicitly referred to their local use of /h/ (meaning the clitics here) in their questions. The following incident was reported by the participant SAZ.

(5)

“When I was at university, I once asked my roommate:

katab-t- eh	l-wagub
wrote-you- Q	the-homework
‘Did you write the homework?’	

My roommate was not from Nizwa and he asked me ‘what do you think I am a girl?’. In ND, we use a genitive case for the last sound while this is not used in his dialect, so he heard it as *katabt-i* ‘you (fem.) wrote’. I am from Nizwa, so when someone talks like this, I can distinguish whether he means a feminine or a question, but others who are not from Nizwa cannot... So, I cannot use this way with someone from out of Nizwa”.

⁵⁹ The issue of the use of /h/ (which refers to the *yes/no* question clitics) in ND questions has been brought up several times in the popular online forum of *Sablat Oman*. Also, since moving to Muscat and joining Sultan Qaboos University, I have heard lots of comments and jokes regarding my/Nizwa people’s use of these clitics.

The following example in (6) is an excerpt from the interview with SF.

(6)

“One of the things that I was affected with... is that we, Nizwa people, for example you speak and use the words that we add /h/ to at the end... for example, the word itself is a question and we add /h/... like :

kǝa:k-**eh**
this way-**Q**
‘Like this?’

...I mean, this is one of the things that I was affected with. We say it a lot kǝa:k-**eh**? kǝa:k-**eh**?. My friends from Al-Sharqiyah used to laugh at me. I mean the Bedouins of Al-Sharqiyah would say ‘what is kǝa:k-eh? kǝa:k-eh. It is /kǝa:k/. Or /kiði:/’. So, I stopped using it in this way and now I would not use the /h/ which is actually similar to SA to some extent”.

Such statements show that the migrants are aware that these clitics are a social faux pas and a source of mockery. Thus, they prefer to avoid them and refrain from using this local feature. This change of a linguistic stereotype is similar to that reported by Zhang (2005) who compares the speech of Chinese managers in foreign-owned and state-owned financial businesses. Her examination focuses on their use of three Beijing Mandarin variables and one variable of a cosmopolitan mixed dialect that is rising in Beijing. The Beijing Mandarin variables are labelled “smooth operator” and “alley saunter” and they have different stereotypical associations as the former is linked to the esteem of the Beijing Mandarin while the latter is associated with lower-class men. The speakers were aware of the different evaluations of these variables and, as with the Nizwa migrants, they used sentences which reflected these assessments. Zhang finds that the newly-emergent yuppie group, i.e. the highly-paid foreign business managers, register a sharp divergence from Beijing Mandarin, especially the negatively stereotyped alley saunter variable. Another related example is Britain’s (2014) investigation of the dialect of the Fens which straddles perceived North-South linguistic borders of the UK and also resonates with aspects of my own findings. He shows that the STRUT vowel is realized as [ʊ] by older northern speakers while the younger ones show a tendency to lower it. Amongst the southern speakers, the vowel is pronounced as [ɜ-ə -ʌ.] by the older speakers while the younger ones use the lowered variant [ʌ.]. Britain reports that an inter-dialectal [ɜ] seems to be focussing throughout the community. Furthermore, Meyerhoff (2006:22) goes so far as to state that the variation in the STRUT vowel in

the Fens is an example of variability prompted by awareness and the stereotyping of this feature which is a similar motivation for the change identified here in clitic usage by the Nizwa migrants.

However, despite their awareness of their stigmatization, the Nizwa migrants show an increase in their use of the clitics in carefully produced speech. This tendency contradicts Bell's (1984:151) Style Axiom which states that:

“Variation on the style dimension within the speech of a single speaker derives from and echoes the variation which exists between speakers on the “social” dimension”.

In fact, the convergence towards clitic-usage in the careful style does not reflect the social evaluations of the clitics since they are actually stigmatized in Muscat. Also, the clitics are certainly not linked to socially-prestigious groups in the community, but instead belong to a minority group of migrants there. Nevertheless, this irregular style-shifting can be attributed to the fact that we are dealing with a linguistic stereotype and such features “might show unusual behavior, not only in their social class and stylistic patterning but even in their linguistic patterning” (Schilling-Estes 2006:381). Preston (1991:38), supporting this view, writes that:

“Features which have become stereotyped and are closer to the awareness of speakers or which show radical style shifting due to societal rules of deference may... constitute exceptions [to Bell's Style Axiom]”.

At the same time, the migrants' unusual shift towards the local use in the careful style can again be linked to affiliation with Nizwa identity and the desire to reflect this side of their identity as it was seen with the other variables (see 6.2.4.1). Further details on this issue will follow in (8.2.3).

7.4 Conclusion

This chapter has offered statistical analyses for the morpho-syntactic variables of the second-person feminine singular suffix, future morpheme and *yes/no* question clitics. Ongoing change is confirmed for the use of the future morpheme and *yes/no* question clitics. The second-person feminine singular suffix is affirmed to be of variable use, yet its local variant [-iʃ] is still dominant within the sample.

The examination of the roles of the social and linguistic factors on the use of these variables reveals that the future morpheme and the *yes/no* question clitics are not influenced by gender, age or LoR.

Yet, these factors along with AoA are all influential predictors for the use of the second-person feminine singular suffix as males, older speakers, those whose AoA is 18 years and above and longer LoR lead to an increase in the use of the supralocal variant [-ik]. Additionally, all the variables presented in this chapter show a divergence from the ND variants in the casual speech style more than in careful types in which there is a convergence towards ND norms. The future marker is also affected by linguistic constraints as it was shown that the supralocal variant [ba-] is linked to imminent events while the local variant is preferred with those that are conditional.

This chapter has argued that speakers' networks and involvement in the marketplace facilitate the attested dialect shift. It also affirms that speakers' attitudes and beliefs stimulate dialect change while also being a force that encourages dialect maintenance.

The following chapter provides a general discussion of the results regarding changes uncovered with respect to phonological and morpho-syntactic variables and the implications of these findings for our understanding of the mechanisms of contact-induced language change.

CHAPTER 8 General Discussions

8.0 Introduction

The findings presented in this study firmly substantiate Labov's (2001:38) conclusion that:

“The first contribution of sociolinguistic research in the second half of the 20th century was to show that variation was not chaotic, but well-formed and rule governed, that it was indeed an aspect of linguistic structure”.

In this study, internal and external factors are critical in the changes attested in ND. This chapter elaborates upon the proposed explanations already suggested and discusses their implications. Section (8.1) refers to those that are linguistic with specific reference to the role of rule complexity in the dialect changes observed amongst speakers of Nizwa Arabic (in 8.1.1). The section also highlights the linguistic interpretations of the change in ND (in 8.1.2). In (8.2), I discuss the sociolinguistic inferences derived from the change in ND, elaborating on the role of social predictors on the change in ND in (8.2.1). I also refer to the role of social networks (in 8.2.2) and the issues of ideology and identity (in 8.2.3) and the relevance they may have for the change(s) in ND. Section (8.3) discusses the limitations of this investigation and offers recommendations for future research. The conclusion for the study is given in (8.4).

8.1 The interpretations and linguistic implications of the change in ND

8.1.1 The role of rule complexity in the change of ND variables

As pointed out in (2.3), a common theme that has been addressed with regard to variation and shifts towards innovative linguistic features is the effect of the complexity of these features (e.g. Payne 1980; Trudgill 1986; Chambers 1992; Kerswill 1996; Britain 1997; Al-Essa 2008; Shetewi 2018). For example, Payne (1980) shows that the twelve children in her study of the acquisition of Philadelphia English features could, with varying degrees, acquire the Philadelphia diphthongs, yet their acquisition of the tensing of the short vowel /a/ was very low (see 4.2.4). She explains that while the attainment of the diphthongs requires phonetic restructuring, vowel tensing in Philadelphia English is more difficult to acquire as it involves phonetic conditions, grammatical conditions and lexical exceptions (Payne 1980:156). In fact, Chambers (1992:682) clarifies that

one of the principles of SDA is that “simple phonological rules progress faster than complex ones”. He explains that simple rules apply with no exceptions while complex rules are those which can produce opaque outputs. Additionally, complex rules have abstract conditions like “boundaries, grammatical categories, and individual lexical items” (Payne 1975 in Chambers 1992:682). Indeed, such conditions are beyond the recognition of a non-native speaker of a dialect; therefore, those speakers may fail to acquire complex D2 rules. These studies highlight the importance of this task. As such, I compare the rate of success in the change towards the new variants for each of the five examined variables of ND to uncover how the difficulty of these rules may affect their acquisition. This information is provided in Table 8.1.

	Labialization	Syncope	Second-person feminine singular suffix	Future morpheme	<i>yes/no</i> question clitics
Rate of acquisition	59%	69%	22%	53%	87%

Table 8.1: rates of acquisition for supralocal variants

As seen in Table 8.1, the omission of the clitics on *yes/no* questions is readily acquired by the migrants (87%). This is unsurprising given the fact that these clitics are a salient and stigmatized local feature of ND (see 7.3.3) and this finding ties in with the view that highly marked features are abandoned first in contexts of dialect contact in favor of less marked alternatives (Trudgill 1986). Furthermore, this outcome supports Chambers’ (1992:695) principle 7 of SDA which states that “eliminating old rules occurs more rapidly than acquiring new ones”. Since the loss of these clitics is a simple rule which only requires deleting them rather than altering them, it is hardly surprising that their acquisition occurs at a high rate in the data.

On the other hand, labialization, syncope and the future morpheme are internally constrained (see 6.1.3, 6.2.3 and 7.2.3). Therefore, their reversal is slower than that of the *yes/no* question clitics. Yet, we can still infer that change in syncope is easier than the fronting of labialized vowels since there is more success in reversing syncope (69%) than in vowel fronting (59%). This inference is supported by the observation that while syncope is eroded by the insertion of a vowel in #CC clusters, [u] fronting is more complex. It requires confirming that the [u] is in the same syllable that contains a triggering sound and to identify the presence of at least one of the triggering sounds in the preceding and following environments (i.e. [+emphatic], [+guttural], [+velar]- see (6.1.3) for

further details). A similar difficulty is experienced while replacing the future morpheme with the new variants [ba-] and *raħ* as this task requires first identifying the future marker as opposed to the first-person singular prefix [ʔa-]. To be able to replace the local variant with the new variants, speakers then need to confirm that the utterance refers to an event in the near future as opposed to far events and conditional contexts. Due to such abstractness, there is a rate of success of 53% in the change towards the new forms for this variable. Although it is striking that a very minimal success rate (22%) is achieved in frequency of the salient unconstrained second-person feminine singular suffix variable, this result can be attributed to the fact that it is a stable linguistic variable as well as its social evaluation as a marker for the Nizwa identity (see 7.1.3).

Ultimately, this study reveals that variables belonging to different levels of the grammar vary in the extent to which they may be difficult to acquire and, hence, in the success rates for their attainment. The patterns of acquisition of supralocal features by Nizwa migrants confirm that a higher degree of success is achieved for the syntactic feature (*yes/no* question clitics) followed by features belonging to the phonology (labialization more than syncope). In comparison, variables belonging to the morphological level have a low rate of acquisition (e.g. future morpheme) or may not be attained when social evaluations interfere with their acquisition (e.g. the second-person feminine singular morpheme). In fact, these findings are in line with the Kerswill's (1996:200) proposal on the hierarchy of the difficulty of linguistic features. Further details on this hierarchy and its relevance to the acquisition of second dialect features by Nizwa migrants are given in the discussion on the role of AoA in (8.2.1).

8.1.2 The linguistic implications of the findings

The influence of social predictors on language use is a “well-agreed-upon matter” (Preston 1991:33), yet “even if outputs are socially coded, the grammar that generates them must be... purely linguistic in its nature” (Bickerton 1975:185). Therefore, the attested linguistic change within the Nizwa migrants must somehow be related to their grammar. As Sankoff (2006:8) argues, variation is “modelled in the grammar” and the production of language proceeds “in accordance with [speakers'] respective internalized grammars”. Thus, the variation within the Nizwa migrants signals that all variants are part of speakers' grammar regardless of the rates of their occurrences. At the same time, the migrants' divergence from their local phonological rules of labialization and syncope and from the morpho-syntactic rules of the future marker and *yes/no* question clitics suggests that there is a change in the weight of these processes in the speakers' grammar. In other

words, the variation in ND rules is, in essence, a change from being obligatory *rules* with “categorical effects” into being *tendencies* with “variable and quantitative effects” (Anttila 2006:209). The change towards the optionality of the application of the local rules has been addressed by adopting the Multiple Grammars Model (e.g. Kiparsky 1993; Antilla 200; also see Kroch 1994 for syntactic variation). This model explains the fact that constrained intra-speaker variation is accounted for by the proposal that an individual has competing grammatical systems and that s/he selects one of them each time s/he forms an utterance (Anttila 2006:219-220). However, Antilla (2006:220) reports that this model poses the risk of having unlimited grammars within a speaker and allowing for modelling any type of variation in any kind of frequencies. This means that both possible and impossible changes can be permissible. Indeed, as my own study has shown, variation is more limited and constrained than predicted by the Multiple Grammars Model. For example, the dialect change in ND shows that velar following sounds have less effect in triggering labialization than emphatics. Also, syncope is constrained by sonority as preceding sonorant sounds are less likely to cause syncope than the other relevant sound categories. So, the variation within these rules is not sporadic which emphasizes the fact that the system is constrained and it does not allow for non-structured variation. Consequently, Antilla (2006:225-236) supports another approach which can account for intra-speaker variation which is the Continuous Ranking Grammars proposal which assumes that constraints are ranked differently in different evaluation points (also see Zubritskaya 1997; Hayes and MacEachern 1998; Boersma and Hayes 2001).

Indeed, proposing that the Nizwa migrants have one single grammar and adopting the model of Continuous Ranking Grammars allows for a better understanding of the role that internal constraints might play in speakers’ linguistic choices. This model explains the changing linguistic behavior of the migrants in Muscat by proposing that the constraints are ranked in one way in Nizwa, but the grammar changes to a different ranking in Muscat. The proposal that constraints and their ranking can help with understanding speakers’ grammars is an accepted view in sociolinguistics, as affirmed by Tagliamonte’s (2013:130) statement below.

“Since linguistic change proceeds as “an ordered set of shifts in the frequency of application of the rule in each environment” (Labov 1982:75) we can expect that not only rates but especially the conditioning of linguistic variability will be language specific. Thus, the environmental constraints (i.e. the “predictors” ...) on variation are the fundamental units of linguistic change (Labov 1982:75) while the constraint ranking of factors... provides a critical diagnostic for comparison. Similarities and differences in the significance, strength, and ordering of constraints provide a microscopic view of the underlying grammatical system. Through the evidence provided by various statistical tools and techniques we can “trace the path of linguistic development through a multidimensional space.” These measures enable us to infer whether the data sets under comparison share an underlying grammar, and to what extent”.

In the same vein, the grammar of Nizwa migrants holds a new status for the SSP in relation to word-onset syllable structure. The fact that the dialect originally allows for plateau sonority and reverse sonority while such violations are highly avoided by the migrants, except for the sequence nasal-sonorant (see 6.2.4.2), entails that the ranking of the SSP has changed and it is now part of the phonotactics of the migrants’ new dialect and thus part of their grammar. This argument is validated by Anttila and Cho’s (1998:40) statements that “[i]nsofar as usage statistics reflect grammatical constraints, such as sonority, stress and syllable structure, they reflect competence and should be explained by the theory of competence”. Hence, it can be understood that the migrants acquire a new manner for forming their word-onset syllables in which they highly follow the SSP requirements of their newly acquired dialect. This new feature becomes internalized and part of their grammar. Linking this to the model of Continuous Ranking Grammars, the new dialectal feature becomes activated in the inter-dialectal contact situation in Muscat. This proposal is supported by Preston’s (1991:33) argument that “[v]ariability arises when “social” situations activate realizations or even frequencies of realizations of alternate items from a single underlying grammar”.

Such statistical information on the effect of internal constraints on Nizwa migrants’ variable use of linguistic features is important as it helps shine light on the role of ‘inherent variability’ (Labov 1972a) in speakers’ sociolinguistic performance. Inherent variability refers to “the Labovian view is that there is variation within one grammar” and that it can affect the performance of speakers

(Preston 1993:165).⁶⁰ It is thus important that future studies follow up on this research area to identify the interplay between variationist and structural linguistics.

Regarding the linguistic implications of the findings on the use of the future marker, it should be noted that within the field of grammaticalization, information about the influence of linguistic constraints is important for understanding the current stage of the development of a change (Tagliamonte 2012:280-281). For example, the trends shown by the Ottawa community in Poplack and Tagliamonte's (2014) study and by the Tyneside English speakers in Fehringer and Corrigan (2015) (see 5.2.2.3.3) confirm that the grammaticalization of *going to* in those varieties is at an advanced stage. In those studies, this marker has developed from a lexical verb which is linked to subjects' capability of movement and it has now extended to be used with subjects that are not characterized in this way (see 5.2.2.2). Such a trend is also replicated for the change attested amongst the Nizwa migrants who are now using the supralocal variants [ba-] and *raħ* in both human and non-human contexts. This reveals that these variants, which have respectively developed from the verb of volition *baka* 'want' and the verb motion *raħ* 'to go' (see 5.2.2.2), are not necessarily linked to subjects that are capable of experiencing volition and moving. However, the finding that the migrants associate these supralocal variants with the immediate future and do not favor them in conditional contexts suggests that the grammaticalization of these variants is not yet complete. Based on the acknowledgment that grammaticalization is unidirectional (Heine and Kuteva 2005:108), it would be interesting to trace whether there will be further developments for the use of [ba-] and *raħ* by the Nizwa migrants to uncover whether these variants will eventually be extended to far and conditional events comparably to their use by speakers of other Arabic dialects. It would also be interesting to see whether the Nizwa migrants will broaden the scope of their b-prefix usage and acquire the further meanings that this feature has in the Bedouin dialects (as understood from Eades' 2012 investigation of the Sharqiyah dialect of Oman).

In the following section, I discuss the sociolinguistic implications of this study.

8.2 The sociolinguistic implications of the change in ND

8.2.1 The role of the social predictors

Inconsistent patterns are found for the effect of the social predictors on the changing use of the ND variables. Significant effects for gender and age are found for the use of syncope and the second-

⁶⁰ A very clear review of the issue of inherent variability can be found in (Preston 1993).

person feminine singular suffix, but not for the other variables. Similarly, only labialization and the second-person feminine singular suffix are affected by LoR. Additionally, AoA is influential for the use of labialization, the second-person feminine singular suffix and the future morpheme. Interestingly, speech style is a factor that impinges on the use of all five variables. The following sections offer interpretations for the effects of these extra-linguistic predictors.

Gender

In this study, the following patterns are attested for the effect of gender on the linguistic variation: a female-led change in the use of syncope, a male-led innovative use in relation to the second-person feminine singular suffix and a gender-neutral convergence towards the supralocal variants of labialization, future marker and *yes/no* question clitics. Such inconsistent patterns indicate that within the same community, the effect of gender can vary across variables. This, in turn, stresses the complexity and multi-faceted nature of gender differences and emphasizes the notion that the interaction between gender and linguistic variation is not constant or simple (Eckert 1989b, Cheshire 2006).

It is difficult to ignore the various ways in which the meaning of men's and women's differentiated linguistic behavior has been interpreted. For example, Deuchar (1988:31) has adopted a politeness-theory based view which argues that women's use of standard forms is a way of compensating for their powerlessness and to conserve face in interactions. Chambers (1995:136-137) has, by contrast, argued that the differentiated sociolinguistic patterns of women and men can be attributed to "the neuropsychological verbal advantage of females"; i.e. women's innate abilities allow them to acquire a larger repertoire of variants than men. Yet, Labov (2001:276-277) challenges Chambers (1995) suggesting that innate abilities cannot result in the wide range of gendered differences that sociolinguistic research has shown. Actually, this study also demonstrates the fact that males could acquire the new form of the second-person feminine singular suffix while females are reluctant to use this variant. This supports a view that this difference is not a matter of women's advanced abilities in learning language, rather it can be attributed entirely to social reasons. Indeed, research on the influence of gender on language variation has constantly shown that gender differences are inextricably linked to social aspects like a speaker's social class, community-membership and social contacts (e.g. Bucholtz 2002; Cheshire 2006). For example, Trudgill (1972:188-194) reports that men's adherence to their local Norwich forms is attributed to the covert

prestige associated with these forms. On the other hand, women prefer RP forms as they are overtly prestigious. He argues that men's behavior signals "group solidarity" while women's behavior is an attempt to gain social status. Likewise, Labov (2001:275-276) explains that status, power and socioeconomic differences between men and women make women status-conscious. Thus, they shift towards socially esteemed linguistic forms to claim the social status of the groups who use these forms. Hence, such findings highlight the fact that sex differentiated language is socially rather than biologically driven. As asserted by Eckert (2008:545), such "variation can be a resource for the construction of meaning and an integral part of social change".

Indeed, the social change that the Omani society has undergone and the changes in the social experiences of men and women and their status in society are crucial factors for the linguistic practices attested in this study. Before 1970, women's role was limited to the household and the traditional role of nurturing children (Al'Omairi and Amzat 2012:65). Furthermore, they lagged behind men in terms of access to education since the only three schools that Oman had at that time were for boys and there were no schools for girls (Al Khadhuri 2007:2). However, the social and economic status of women began to change after 1970. The empowerment of women has become a main goal for the government (Al'Omairi and Amzat 2012). Yet, the rise of women's status in society has been slow, largely on account of the fact that they lagged behind men with regard to their educational levels. As per the 1993 census, the rate of illiteracy among Omanis aged 10 years and above was approximately 65% for women and 36% for men (Al Khadhuri 2007:2). Such gender differences in educational levels is good evidence for women's reduced involvement in the socioeconomic and political arenas of the country. Men, on the other hand, have had better chances for education which improved their chances for employment and involvement in politics (Al'Omairi and Amzat 2012).

Emphasizing the importance of their participation in the growth of the sultanate, Sultan Qaboos addressed women in his speech during the 20th National Day celebration in 1990 stating:

“We call upon Omani women everywhere, in the villages and the cities, in both urban and Bedu communities, in the hills and mountains, to roll up their sleeves and contribute to the process of economic and social development...We have great faith in the educated young Omani women to work devotedly to assist their sisters in their local communities to develop their skills and abilities, both practically and intellectually, in order to contribute to our Omani Renaissance which demands the utilization of our entire national genius, for the realization of our country’s glory and prosperity. We call upon Omani women to shoulder this vital role in the community and we are confident that they will respond to this call.” (Al Khadhuri 2007:1).

And indeed Omani women have become more active in the development of their country. Gender equality became visible by 2000; i.e. 30 years after the renaissance of Oman. According to Al’Omairi and Amzat (2012:66):

“The status of Omani women has seen a huge progress, in the academic year 2000-2001 the number of boys and girls was equal in primary schools, and women accounted for 54% of the number of students admitted to Sultan Qaboos University in 2002.⁶¹ Omani women work in many areas including administration, politic, and media. A large proportion of women are working in government and private sectors, and women are treated equally with men. Women are given their freedom and many rights, such as the right to own property, the right to education, work, and the right to vote and participate politically”.

This shows that the status of women in Omani society has changed in the new millennium. They not only managed to complete school education, but they also enrolled in higher education programs which enhanced their opportunities to participate socioeconomically and politically.

It thus becomes clear that the social experiences of men and women in the Omani society and the move from gender differentiation to gender equality are manifested in the linguistic practices attested by the Nizwa migrants in Muscat. Contrary to western societies, the male migrants in this study present a shift and high use of supralocal variants. This is attributed to their social privileges of being advanced in having access to education and to socioeconomic and political positions in society. As clarified in CHAPTER 3, such factors are linked to migration in Oman which suggests that males have had exposure to inter-dialectal contact before and even longer than females. Thus, this exposure prompted their linguistic shifts, especially with regard to the male-led change (e.g. the first-person singular feminine marker) and the gender-neutral variation (e.g. labialization,

⁶¹ It should be noted that the population of Omani national is equally divided; i.e. females account for 50% of the population (Al Khadhuri 2007:2).

future marker and *yes/no* question clitics). Women on the other hand, had delayed access to contact with speakers of other varieties due to the social inequality they previously experienced. These findings can actually be compared to results from Corrigan's (1997) investigation of linguistic variation in South Armagh, Northern Ireland. This study of diachronic syntactic variation in the English of this rural enclave shows that social changes experienced by speakers of this variety played a vital role in precipitating linguistic change. Post World War II, this community experienced a disruption to the stereotypical gender roles such that women were removed from domestic labor and became more involved in the public marketplace while men remained as heads of farming households. This change has triggered the migration of rural women to local towns to work. Corrigan explains that such differentiated migration patterns gave women access to inter-dialectal contact which resulted in differences in men's and women's social networks. Women's ties to the local community started to weaken. Such changes along with the changing attitudes of local speakers to their variety as a consequence for their increased exposure to the standard dialect (due to improvements in the transportation system, educational opportunities, mass-media and leisure activities) resulted in female speakers being more advanced than males in converging to standard syntactic norms. Clearly, this situation is divergent from that identified amongst the Nizwa migrants. Within the latter group, men experienced migration earlier than women which has thus led to their divergence from their local norms and convergence to supralocal variants available in Muscat. Furthermore, my study in a non-western context shows that women had to work harder to promote their social status. The female-led dialect change in the syncope feature of ND is a clear example of how the desire for changing one's social status can lead to language change (see 6.2.4.1). In this case, women want to assert their new-found socioeconomic status and project themselves as socially esteemed individuals. Additionally, we also see that women succeed in catching up with males, socially and linguistically, as evident from the gender-neutral shifts. In those cases, social change is a strong correlate for the changing linguistic patterns of men and women in the migrants' community of Nizwa. The migrants equally share the desire to avoid stigmatization and being identified as *quḥḥi* 'local' or rural. They also want to reflect the change in their social status from that which they had in Nizwa prior to their migration. They want to show that they are now educated, modern and urban individuals.⁶² This finding also ties with Corrigan's (1997) report on the change in the attitude of speakers of South Armagh English and its role in the change to this variety longitudinally.

⁶² Refer to the discussions in (6.1.4.1), (7.1.3) and (7.3.3).

Age

In fact, social change has also been linked to the effects of age in this research. This study presents results that contradict common findings on age differences with respect to the use of certain linguistic variables. It shows that while age is an insignificant predictor for the change in labialization, future marker and the *yes/no* question clitics, it is the middle-aged and older speakers in the sample (25-50 years) who show the highest rate of innovative use of syncope and the second-person feminine singular suffix. The youngest speakers (18-24 years) on the other hand tend to favor local norms. This finding has several implications. First, the attested patterns of the effects of age corroborate the fact that age can result in different mechanisms for dialect change in the different communities and that, “[a]ge groups are not necessarily uniform across or between communities, as different cultural and material conditions make different life trajectories” (Eckert 1997:167). Secondly, the findings show that diverse variables are affected by age in different ways. These unusual age results can also be interpreted by relating them to the social changes in these speakers’ lives. It has been shown that migrants who are aged 25-50 are heavily involved in workplace practices (see 7.1.3). The workplace is essentially the linguistic market where speakers become aware of the value of their linguistic heterogeneity and the values of other varieties which exist in their environments. This results in speakers making linguistic choices based on their awareness of prestige variants (Simmons 2003:11). Indeed, the Nizwa migrants are aware of the value of their dialect in relation to the other varieties in Muscat (see 6.2.4.1 and 8.2.3) and they shift to the supralocal variants - especially in the workplace- to facilitate understanding and to gain social-esteem.⁶³ For example, participant SKA stated the following:

(1)

“My uncle teaches in the university. He teaches students from different areas of Oman. His dialect has changed a lot and he sounds very different from the way he speaks in Nizwa. He says he has to change his local way of speaking and he uses what is called the ‘white dialect’ to suit all those different students. If he uses ND completely and does not change it, they will not understand everything... Besides, people want to rise on the social scale. Yes, honestly, you feel there is that [view] that dialects are not prestigious, so mixing with other people makes us use the ‘white dialect’ to show people that we are of a high social class”.

⁶³ This can also be understood from the statement in (1) by YB, provided in (7.1.3).

This example clarifies the link between age and changes in speakers' social lives which in turn leads to the change in ND. The excerpt starts by referring to a speaker who works in a prestigious academic institution and reflects the fact that the ND is not considered suitable to be used there since it may not be understandable and it can be viewed as inferior in comparison to the prestigious *white dialect*. Thus, such a view is interpreted to account for speakers' shift to more acceptable linguistic varieties in the workplace.⁶⁴ The shift is mostly towards the white dialect, which is a term that is commonly used by people in the Gulf States to refer to the homogenized dialect that is used in the area. This variety is essentially the same as Holes' (2011b) proposed homogenized Bedouin dialect that is spreading in the Gulf States (see 3.3.2.2). That being said, it should be noted that although the findings in this study suggest that involvement in the workplace may contribute to the linguistic variation attested amongst the Nizwa migrants, the extent of this influence needs to be verified by future research that looks specifically into this area.

AoA

The effect of AoA in this study is also unusual as it has shown that a younger AoA does not necessarily lead to more success in the acquisition of the supralocal variants. Notably, an older AoA in fact leads to higher rates of using the supralocal variants. The AoA of 18-23 years is linked to the highest rate of divergence in the use of labialization while speakers whose AoA is 18-23 or over 23 are the most advanced users of the supralocal variant [-ik] of the feminine suffix and the supralocal variants of the future prefix. Additionally, AoA is not instrumental in the shifts in syncope or the question clitics either. Although there is no statistical evidence for any interaction between the factors of age and AoA, the two factors may be linked to each other. As explained in (4.2.2), people go through changes in their family status, employment status, place of resident etc. as they go through the different stages of their lives (Eckert 1997). Such changes may result in changes in a person's social networks (expansion of networks, increased contact with non-locals, etc.) and ideologies (eg. how they perceive themselves in relation to others, etc.). Thus, it can be understood that the ideology of a speaker and the social networks s/he contracts at the time of his/her arrival and throughout the progress of his/her life are unstable and impact the linguistic practices of an individual (see 8.2.2 and 8.2.3 for further details). Such observations indicate that age and AoA cooperate with each other to shape the attested linguistic behavior in this study.

⁶⁴ Also see (8.2.3) for more details on the effect of speakers' views on dialect change in Nizwa Arabic.

Furthermore, the results of the age effect support the view that diverse variables differ in whether AoA can trigger a change in their use and this finding is similar to Fix's (2013) reports on the acquisition of African American Vernacular English features by white women (see 4.2.3). However, contrary to Fix's (2013) results which indicate that AoA affects morpho-syntactic features, but not phonological ones (see 4.2.3), my study shows that AoA affects phonological and morphological variables in the speech of Nizwa migrants equally. There are several inferences that can be made based on these findings. First, individuals are capable of modifying their linguistic systems throughout their lifespan. This finding challenges Lenneberg's (1967) critical age hypothesis which claims that speakers are unable to acquire new linguistic features after puberty—a proposal that has also been contested by researchers from the fields of SDA and second language acquisition (e.g. Snow and Hoefnagel-Hoehle 1978; Kerswill 1996; Bailystock 1997; Sankoff and Wagner 2006). Second, although Nizwa adults can acquire the complex rule of vowel fronting, the rate of success for this acquisition decreases when a speaker is older than 23 years of age. Conversely, easier rules like the erosion of the *yes/no* question clitics, the reversal of syncope and the replacement of the second-person feminine singular and the future prefix continue to be acquired at older ages. These observations echo Kerswill's (1996:200) predictions regarding the hierarchy of difficulty tied to linguistic features and their acquisition (see Table 8.2).

Rank		Feature	Age Acquired
1 (most difficult)	i	lexically unpredictable phonological rules, which may reflect lexical diffusion nearing completion and which are not socio-linguistically salient (Trudgill, 1986)	by 3 (?)
	ii	new phonological oppositions	by 3–13
	iii	grammatical change: parameters	by 8 (?)
2	iv	prosodic systems	by 12–15
3	v	grammatical change: new morphological classes (in creoles, may be tied to lexical acquisition)	peaks in adolescent years? lifespan?
4	vi	morphologically conditioned changes	not before 4–7; then lifespan
5	vii	reassignment of words or lexical sets to other morphological classes	lifespan
6	viii	mergers	lifespan
7	ix	Neogrammarian changes (exceptionless shifts, easier if they are connected speech processes)	lifespan
8	x	lexical diffusion of phonological changes, especially those which involve an existing opposition and are salient	lifespan
	xi	borrowing: new lexical forms of old words; new phonetic forms of existing morphological categories	lifespan
9	xii	borrowing: vocabulary	lifespan

Table 8.2: Kerswill's (1996:200) difficulty hierarchy for the acquisition of D2 features

Thus, another important original contribution of my study is the revelation that Kerswill's hierarchical categories also apply amongst adult migrants from Nizwa with respect to the variables observed. It shows that the changes in most of these variables are permissible throughout the lifespan as seen in Table 8.3.

Rank	ND Feature	Age Acquired
1	Labialization	Peaks in the period 18-23 years
2	Future marker	Less likely before 18; then lifespan
3	syncope	Lifespan
4	Second-person feminine singular suffix	Lifespan? (easy change, but hindered by social factors)
5	<i>Yes/no</i> question clitics	Lifespan

Table 8.3: ND difficulty hierarchy and the acquisition of D2 features

LoR

This study also confirms the fact that “LoR is not a consistently significant factor” for the naturalistic attainment of D2 features (Siegel 2010:101). It shows that LoR is insignificant for the ongoing changes in syncope, future marker and *yes/no* question clitics as speakers of short and long LoR equally diverge from ND. This trend is similar to findings reported by Shockey (1984), Ivars (1994) and Omdal (1994). However, it is also shown that the complex rule of labialization and the ND affrication of the /-ik/ suffix have an increased rate of erosion with longer LoR since a longer length of stay triggers an increase in the use of the supralocal front vowel and the non-affricated suffix. This could suggest that the complexity of the labialization rule necessitates that speakers have longer exposure and receive further input to ensure their success in acquiring it. This argument can be tied to Trudgill’s (1986) findings reported in (2.3) on the British twins’ acquisition of Australian English features at different orders. Because the D2 features differ in their levels of complexity, the twins’ acquisition of these features happened at different stages. Therefore, the increase in rule complexity required an increase in the input and this can be equalled to the Nizwa migrants’ shift in the use of labialization.

Speech style

Speech style plays a pivotal role in the changes observed with respect to all of the variables. Notably, there is a shift towards the supralocal form of labialization in the careful speech style, yet this context is also attached to the local use of syncope, the second-person feminine singular suffix, the future marker and the *yes/no* question clitics. According to Irvine (2002:31), such style shifting can be interpreted to imply speakers’ awareness of the different varieties they have “and the contexts in which these varieties are prototypically used”.

The migrants’ use of their local variants in the careful style can be compared to accounts of the diffusion of the glottal replacement of /t/ in British dialects in formal speech styles (e.g. Mees and Collins 1999; Trudgill 1999b). This use is reported to be an indication that the innovative variant is losing its stigma in certain British dialects (Smith and Holmes-Elliott 2017:16). However, such style shifting is also acknowledged to be motivated by ideology (e.g. Labov 1972a; Ervin-Tripp 2002, Irvine 2002). As stated by Ervin-Tripp (2002:45), “[l]anguage ideologies have empirical manifestations in two forms... One is in acquiring skill in more than one variety; the other is in

displaying that skill in code- or style-switching”. Indeed, such a view helps account for the attested stylistic differences within the Nizwa migrants. As clarified in the discussions put forward in (6.1.4.1, 6.2.4.1, 7.1.3, 7.2.4.1 and 7.3.3), the stylistic variation attested to in this study are ideologically motivated and attributed to the migrants’ view and attitude towards their dialect. Further details on speakers’ ideology and its role in the change in ND are given in (8.2.3).

Lastly, while the macro-sociolinguistic analysis presented above shows that the dialect change in ND is internally and externally motivated, a micro-sociolinguistic approach shows that essentially this change is driven by social forces that direct the participants’ overall linguistic behavior. The two main forces that are relevant to this study are (i) The degree of exposure to the supralocal variants through social contact/networks and (ii) The ideology held by the participants. The following section refers to the analysis of the social networks within the Nizwa migrants.

8.2.2 The social networks in the Nizwa migrants’ community

The linguistic variation in this study has been linked to differences in speakers’ social networks (see 6.1.4.1, 6.2.4.1, 7.1.3 and 7.2.4.1). To understand the effect of social network on sociolinguistic variation, researchers tend to pay “attention to network density and centrality as well as to an individual’s position in the network and the complexity of his/her relationships with others” (Dodsworth 2014:41). For example, the Milroys (Milroy 1980:20-51) measured speakers’ network by referring to the strength of their social ties to assess network density (how interconnected a speaker’s relations are) and multiplexity (in how many capacities one interacts with the same relations).⁶⁵ Many studies assess network indices using self-reports, yet sophisticated statistical methods for assessing network strengths can also be used when speaker samples are large (Dodsworth 2014:41).

In this study, speakers’ social networks and contact patterns are inferred based on information that participants mentioned during the sociolinguistic interviews and my personal knowledge of the community. Such information is used to derive an overview of the dynamics of the contact patterns that Nizwa migrants have and to predict their social networks. This analysis reveals that there are differences in the strength of the social networks of early and late migrants in the sample.⁶⁶ For example, the sample includes speakers whose AoA is less than 18 years. They all came to Muscat

⁶⁵ Refer to Milroy (1980) for further discussion on measuring the strength of social networks. Sharma (2017) also provides a comprehensive list of studies which adopted different measures to assess the strength of social networks.

⁶⁶ See (4.2.3) for information on the three groups with respect to AoA.

along with their families. Often, when a member of the extended family⁶⁷ settles in Muscat with his wife and children, his brothers and sisters (and probably other relatives like uncles or cousins) who also work in Muscat follow and they tend to settle in a close area to each other. Al-Hashmi's (1991:25-29) investigation of the family structure of Omani migrants in Muscat confirms that although there is a geographical distance between those migrants and their extended families, the migrants maintain high contact with family members in the capital and hometowns alike. Al-Hashmi clarifies that 77% of the migrants in his study live at least within driving distance from their relatives and that migrants "in the capital [are] similar in their extent of visiting relatives to those... [living] outside the capital" (Al-Hashmi 1991:28).⁶⁸ Of course, relatives living in the capital would be living with their children as well which means that the children of these migrant families are in contact with children and adults who are from Nizwa.

Figure 8.1 illustrates the predicted social network for migrants whose AoA is less than 18 years.⁶⁹ It shows that although such speakers may have neighbors/contacts who are not necessarily family members, they mostly interact with relatives who could also be their neighbors (those contacts are marked as relatives 1-3 in the figure).

⁶⁷ The term extended family is used by sociologists to refer to the family structure consisting of the parents, their married children or grandparents, and other kin. This structure is most prevalent in pre-industrial societies (Al-Hashmi 1991:10).

⁶⁸ It should yet be noted here that present generations are different from their parents' generation in that there are more people now living in the capital away from their hometowns, therefore, they do not necessarily see their relatives on a daily basis as it was in the past (Al-Hashmi 1991:28-29).

⁶⁹ In network figures 8.1-8.3, the black lines indicate density ties and the blue lines indicate multiplexity ties.

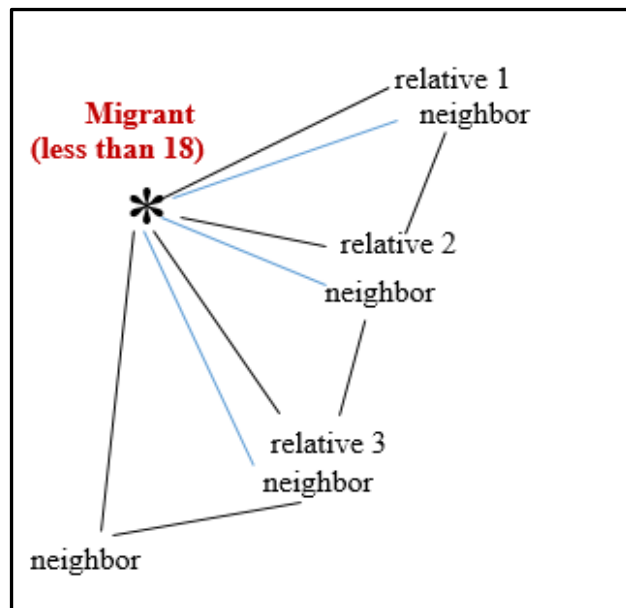


Figure 8.1: projected social network structure for speakers whos AoA is less than 18 years

In fact, families who transfer to Muscat commonly agree that they may not even know their neighbors and that most of their contact happens with other Nizwa born relatives in Muscat. These observations on the social network structure for the early movers to Muscat can also be supported by statements that participants mentioned during the interviews such as those in (2).

(2)

- a. **AK** (a male born in Muscat): “We, as residents in Muscat, go to Nizwa during special occasions or every 2 or 3 weeks... We still have weekly family gatherings and we always accept invitations... our family is very careful about this issue... In Muscat, most areas have a mixture of Omanis and expats... I lived in a new area... I spent a whole year trying to talk to my neighbor. We would meet by the lift and say hello, but then each one of us would go in a separate lift. It was to this extent and some of them were even Omanis. So, in these areas, contact [with neighbors] could reach zero”.
- b. **HK** (a female born in Muscat): “We [my family] are here [in Muscat] because of my father’s work. But we have a house in Nizwa and in Muscat and in summer we go to Nizwa... Some of them [my uncles and aunts] are here in Muscat... and we mostly gather in Nizwa, but we also visit and so on in Muscat... When we do not go to Nizwa for example, we gather at weekends and have dinner together for example with my uncle and his family... It is different in Nizwa, I mean the contact with neighbors is more. Here [in Muscat] it is different. It is not that strong as in Nizwa”.
- c. **SF**: “[Contact between neighbors] is less here [in Muscat] than in Nizwa where there is more contact I think. This is because in Nizwa, as I told you, people come from the same place and they are there for a long time. They also share the same norms, traditions and everything... But what is different is that those [neighbors in Muscat] come from different areas. This makes you somewhat unwilling to mix with them. It is not because of anything wrong with them. I mean, there is no barrier. But it is just like this, I mean you do not want to mix to a large extent with the person who is different from you”.

This indicates that the children of migrant families; i.e. those whose AoA is less than 18 years, are regularly exposed to local linguistic norms. Such contact patterns can further be verified by several findings reported by Al-Hashmi (1991:38-41). First, Al-Hashmi reports that most migrant families rely on other family members (e.g. grandparents, siblings, relatives) for help with childcare and that non-relatives (e.g. housekeepers and neighbors) are not preferred providers of childcare. Second, families confirm that they spend the majority of their time (58%) at home (with family, reading or watching TV) or visiting relatives. Recreational activities like visiting friends or participating in sport or cultural clubs on the other hand are far less frequent (26%). Such observations suggest that the migrants’ children primarily interact with members of their local dialect community and that their access to inter-dialectal contact with friends is limited to school. The latter inference can also be supported by the fact that the migrants believe that in Muscat’s schools their children can be exposed to unfavorable behavior and habits which are not appreciated

by the conservative rural society they come from.⁷⁰ The following excerpt emphasizes the effect of this belief.

(3)

SKA: “I fear for the moral side in schools because the school is not just for giving information for students, but it has a big moral and ethical side, especially that students spend a lot of time at school. They may even be affected by their peers more than their parents and siblings. So, this side is very very very important. One of the main reasons that make me refuse to have my family move to Muscat is that my siblings are still in school. Although the situation in schools in Nizwa is not the same [as it was in the past], it is still better [than that in Muscat]. I do not have a problem if a student’s level is low, but at least his morals and ethics are in the right place... Here [in Muscat] most of my uncles send their male children to private schools because of the fear that in Muscat’s schools there are practices that could even involve drugs and there are more unethical practices. So, they choose to keep them in private schools not because of the quality of education as much as it is about the fear that they will go in the wrong path”.

Such beliefs result in the parents imposing restrictions on who their children go out with and limiting their contact with friends whose parents they do not know. At first glance, this belief might seem to play a role in minimizing the expected peer-group effect within this AoA group. As mentioned in (6.1.4.1), adolescence is acknowledged to be the stage in which innovation of forms increases or increments (Labov 2001, Tagliamonte 2016). Tagliamonte (2016:4) states that the increase in innovation during this life stage is linked to the expansion of individuals’ social networks in school. Although it is true that in such contexts the Nizwa migrants whose AoA is less than 18 years interact with students speaking other dialects, it is important to take into consideration that this interaction is far less than the interaction they have with cousins and other relatives from Nizwa. The statistics provided by Al-Hashmi (1991) in the above paragraph supports this. Additionally, the time spent at school is not sufficient to allow for extensive interactions with none-Nizwa students given that the educational system in Oman is teacher-centered as oppose to the learner-centered system in western communities (Al-Maskari et al. 2012:56). For example, in their report on the areas which ought to be improved in Oman’s educational system, Al-Maskri et al. (2012:56) write that there is a need to “empower students by giving them more space to speak, discuss and communicate and express themselves through participating in learner-centered

⁷⁰ I refer you to the situation of participant YB that is detailed in (8.2.3) and his statement in (10).

classes”. This suggests that the early migrants’ exposure to linguistic norms of other dialects⁷¹ in school is actually restricted. However, the effect of peer-group is still relevant to the linguistic behavior of this AoA group. In fact, their pattern is comparable to findings reported by Slomanson and Newman (2004) in their investigation of phonological variation within Latino students in a New York school. Slomanson and Newman show that adolescents in the school are affiliated with different peer cultures which are: Hip-Hop, Skater and Geek and the Family-oriented group. The latter is characterized by inter-generational local friendship/contacts, pride of national heritage and family, stronger links to the heritage community and more Spanish contacts than the other groups. Slomanson and Newman’s (2004:211) findings show that this group “speaks the most Spanish”. The early migrants from Nizwa are indeed similar to the Latino Family-oriented group in that they maintain high contact with Nizwa locals and they claim pride in their national heritage (see 8.2.3). Their maintenance of ND norms is thus interpreted as a result of their affiliation with the peer culture that is locally-oriented which is part of their social network structure.

As for those who migrate to Muscat aged 18-23 years, they are typically the ones who come to enrol in university/college and they normally come alone while their families remain in Nizwa. Those speakers tend to share accommodation with fellow students who have also migrated to Muscat from other areas of Oman. Additionally, they interact regularly with other students on campus (e.g. working in groups and assignments, field trips etc.). Their projected network structure is presented in figure 8.2.

⁷¹ See (3.2.2).

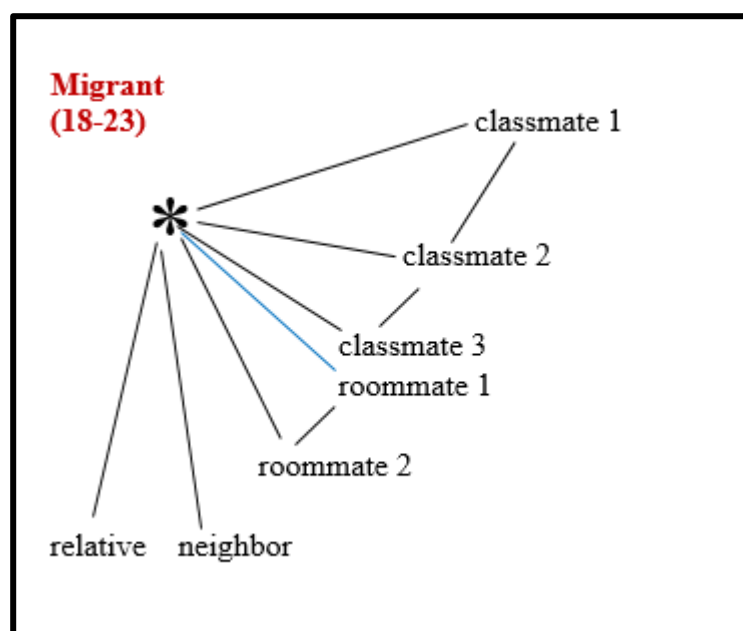


Figure 8.2: projected social network structure for speakers whose AoA is (18-23) years

As clarified in Figure 8.2, migrants who go to Muscat to study usually interact with their classmates and roommates most often. They may also have some neighbors or relatives from Nizwa, but those relations may not necessarily know each other nor are they expected to interact with one another. Support for the veracity of this network structure can be derived from the situation amongst participants MSS, RSS and FSS. They are sisters and each of them moved to Muscat to study at university when she was 18. They go to the same university, but they are in different years and programs. Yet, they all confirmed that often they do not even see each other until they go home at weekends or during holidays and they agreed that most of their contact is with their roommates and classmates.⁷² Moreover, participant YSR in the same category also mentioned that most of his friends are those who come from different areas in Oman and study with him at the university. They not only interact on campus, but they also spend time together at his house or in other recreational activities. He also mentioned the fact that he spends time with his siblings during weekends when they go back to their parents' house in Nizwa.⁷³ Such extensive inter-dialectal

⁷² In fact, I was surprised that when I interviewed those girls and I mentioned to them that I met/would meet her sisters, I found that they were not aware of my meeting with them. Also, one of the girls was late and when I asked her sisters about her, they said they did not know where she was nor did they have a way to contact her through her friends.

⁷³ Being a migrant at the age of 18 myself, I also experienced similar patterns of interaction to those reported for this AoA group. I lived and studied with girls who were from different areas of Oman and most of my communication was with them. My younger sister also joined my university a year after me, yet we both saw each other mostly at weekends when we went home. Our communication with other students was much more frequent than with each other.

contact amongst speakers in this AoA group indicates that those migrants, by contrast, are much more heavily exposed to the linguistic norms of other dialects. Contrary to speakers whose AoA is less than 18 years, in this group we see peer-group influence triggering the convergence towards innovative forms. Such results are in line with Al-Ali and Arafa's (2010) findings in their investigation of phonological variation in different educational settings in Jordan. Al-Ali and Arafa (2010:220) show that "individuals with high school education have a higher tendency to maintain the use of local variants, whereas... individuals with university education have a higher tendency to adopt non-local prestigious variants". Clearly, such a pattern is verified by the results of my study and I would argue that it is likely due in large part to differences in contact types and network structures that speakers engage in within diverse educational settings.

The third AoA group consists of those who migrate to Muscat after the age of 23. Speakers in this group go to Muscat to start a new job. They usually get married within a few years and settle there with their new families. Their social network includes ties with co-workers and neighbors, who are usually from other areas of Oman, a spouse (who may or may not be from Nizwa) and relatives from Nizwa who could be their neighbors as well.

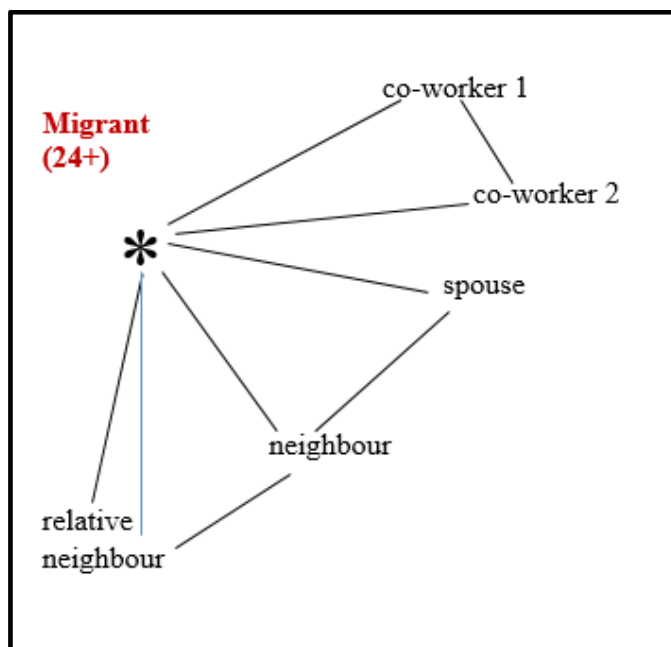


Figure 8.3: projected social network structure of migrants whose AoA is 24+ years

Al-Hashmi (1991:29-33) states that Omanis who immigrate to Muscat settle and form “nuclear families⁷⁴ away from their extended families and kinships in the rural area” and that they show a tendency to settle close to each other in Muscat. He also confirms that the increase in the age of migration and the educational level of the father is associated with the decrease in the family size and thus the amount of local contact. Undeniably, there would be diversified patterns of interaction for the parents and children of such families. The working parent(s) will have access to inter-dialectal contact in the workplace which thus suggests that such contact happens almost on a daily-basis. They will also be in contact with local relatives in Muscat. As clarified by Al-Hashmi (1991:37), amongst those migrants, “primary interaction centers on the immediate family, moves outward with less intensity to encompass other relatives and friends, and becomes weaker with those living nearby (neighbors)”. Therefore, within the nuclear migrant families, the parents’ social network structure will resemble that illustrated in Figure 8.3. On the other hand, the children will mostly interact with family members and their social networks will be concomitant with that displayed in Figure 8.1. The following testimony by participant AH supports this projected network structure as applicable to this group. AH is a male who moved to Muscat after graduating from a university abroad. His wife is also from Nizwa.

(4)

“My brothers and sister [who moved to Muscat] have built three houses next to each other. I live in Al-Hail area [which is within a driving distance to their area]... at work, we have friends who are from Al-Sharqiyah and Salalah and other areas”.

Clearly, the three AoA groups present differences in their ties to the local community and the rate of inter-dialectal contact. The first group (AoA less than 18 years) is the one with the most dense and multiplex relations and it has the highest rate of access to local variants through contact with close relatives. On the other hand, the second group (AoA 18-23) has the weakest ties with their local community and they have more ties with the other migrants in Muscat who come from different areas to study like them. The third one (AoA 24+) has links with family members, yet their ties are not as strong as the first group since their contact with non-locals of Nizwa at work is also high. The differences in the strength of the ties to the local community of Nizwa migrants result in varying rates in the shifts towards the new dialectal norms, especially in the use of

⁷⁴ Nuclear family structure is that composed of parents and their unmarried children (Al-Hashmi 1991:10).

labialization, the second-person feminine singular suffix and the future morpheme in which AoA has been influential (see 6.1.4.1, 7.1.3 and 7.2.4.1). This result aligns with the acknowledgment that “individuals situated in dense networks are relatively unlikely to adopt novel variants, while individuals who contract numerous weak ties are more likely to adopt novel variants” (Micheal 2014:19, also see Milroy and Milroy (1985)). It is noteworthy though that although the social network effect seems to be a helpful measure to understand the distinction between the early and later migrants’ linguistic behavior (see 6.1.4.1, 7.1.3 and 7.2.4.1), it is important to acknowledge at this stage that the group of early migrants (i.e. less than 18 years) is small in number. Therefore, acquiring further data from more speakers with young AoA would be helpful in shedding light on the dynamic of the speakers who migrate at early ages and its influence on their linguistic practices.

Although the differences in the strength of social networks are not measured quantitatively in this study, their effect is robust in that they reflect differences in the network properties with regard to the regularity of the exposure to supralocal variants. Research shows that input variability enhances learning (Sumner 2011) and that having a larger social network increases the variability of input (Lev-Ari 2018a:2256). Furthermore, Lev-Ari (2018b) clarifies that the acquisition of new contrasts is facilitated by exposure to variants through contact with multiple speakers in a heterogeneous social network (e.g. networks containing speakers of different dialects, educational levels etc.). In other words, the heterogeneity of social network grants speakers exposure to multiple variants by multiple speakers which facilitates the acquisition of new variants. Homogeneous networks on the other hand, have less variable input which affects the performance of its members in that they would show less variability (Lev-Ari and Shao 2017, Lev-Ari 2018a, Lev-Ari 2018b). These accounts have strong implications for the results presented in this study. The analysis of the social networks of the Nizwa migrants shows that speakers whose AoA is less than 18 years have social networks that can be characterized by increased homogeneity which helps our understanding of their increased conservative linguistic behavior in comparison to the late migrants. On the other hand, we see more heterogeneity amongst those migrating at older ages, especially the group with AoA 18-23 years. Their higher rate of divergence from ND can thus be interpreted as an explicable outcome tied to the increased variability of input they receive through their more frequent inter-dialectal contacts in both the educational setting and the workplace.

The findings presented in this section emphasize the fact that the dialect change attested amongst the Nizwa migrants is “a linguistic reflex of the large scale disruption of close-knit localized networks which have historically maintained highly systematic and complex sets of socially

structured linguistic norms” (Milroy 2003:158). The differences and changes in the speakers’ social networks yield different contact patterns as well as different levels of exposure and inter-dialectal communication. This results in different levels of dialect convergence and divergence. Such effects for social networks amongst Nizwa migrants are similar to findings reported by Al-Essa (2008) for variation in the use of the second-person feminine singular suffix by speakers of Najdi Arabic (see 2.4.3). Likewise, the trends I have presented for the Nizwa migrants are also reported by Lippi-Green (1989) and they support “the hypothesis that a network composed of dense, strong ties facilitates norm enforcement rather than change” (Clem 2016:84).

Differences in social networks are helpful in understanding the mechanism by which variation can start amongst migrant groups. However, the social network model is not sufficient to fully justify the irregular and inconsistent patterns of usage reported here amongst migrants with the Nizwa variety as their first dialect. As Clem (2016:101) writes:

“[W]hile network structure and weak ties may be important in allowing novel variants to enter a speech community, once variants are present throughout a community, a network structure with both hubs and loners⁷⁵ is not crucial in allowing a change to be propagated in the community”.

Furthermore, there is a possibility of speakers moving from one network type to another, which is also reported by Eckert (2002:193). For example, speakers who migrate to study (i.e. AoA 18-23 years) could potentially settle in Muscat for work. So, their social network structures could develop to include more contact with Nizwa locals via marriage or neighborhood/workplace (i.e. their social networks could resemble that of the migrants with AoA 24+ in Figure 8.3). Hence, social networks are not the only source for the social differentiation and the linguistic variation within the Nizwa migrants’ community. The change in the dialect of the Nizwa migrants can also be related to speakers’ ideology and their identity which have been central issues throughout the discussions presented in both chapters 6 and 7 and to which I now turn.

⁷⁵ Loners and hubs are terms used in Milroy and Milroy (1985)- “loners” are members with only a few ties most of which are weak, and “hubs” are members with many strong ties (Clems 2016:85).

8.2.3 Ideology, identity and the change in ND

Within the Nizwa migrants' community, stylistic differences reveal conflicting patterns in the use of the variables examined in this study (see 8.2.1). The speakers do conform to supralocal forms of labialization, syncope, future marker and the *yes/no* question clitics, yet they also show shifts towards local use, especially in the careful speech style (for syncope, future marker and the *yes/no* question clitics) and in the overall patterns associated with migrants' usage of the second-person feminine marker. As Irvine (2002:22) explains, "the relationships among styles are ideologically mediated... [and differences] in ways of speaking index the social formations (groups, categories, personae, activity types, institutional practices, etc.) of which they are characteristic". Indeed, ideology⁷⁶ has been a key explanation for these stylistic shifts as the participants expressed several views that have been influential for their linguistic use such as those presented in (6.1.4.1), (6.2.4.1), (7.1.3), (7.2.4.1) and (7.3.3). First, the migrants believe that their dialect is stigmatized and most of them mentioned the fact that speakers of other dialects "*laugh at us/ ridicule us/ joke about us*". Second, they want to avoid being identified as *quhhi* 'local/rural' and instead they want to project themselves as being modern and part of Muscat's cosmopolitan and prestigious culture (see 6.1.4.1, 7.1.3 and 7.3.3).⁷⁷ In fact, the two beliefs relate to one another. As clarified by Altaqhaine and Rahrouh (2017:1435), the attitude to a linguistic variety is derived from its status and prestige. Hence, the speakers' negative attitude and desire to avoid the local Nizwa variety is a direct result of their awareness of its stigmatization (see 3.3.2.2).

A third view that the migrants expressed is that their dialect may not be understandable to speakers of Bedouin and mixed dialects and the statement '*people from other areas may not understand us*' was uttered by most of the participants in various ways (see example (3) in 7.2.4.1). The migrants thus feel that it is necessary for them to help others understand them and so they feel compelled to change their local linguistic use. The effect of this belief is also clarified by Dr Mahmood Al-Riyami, an Assistant Professor in the Arabic Department at Sultan Qaboos University, who mentioned the following in personal communication:

(5)

⁷⁶ See (2.5.2).

⁷⁷ Also see (3.3.1) on factors that cause the migration to Muscat to understand how desire for avoiding conservative traditions in Nizwa can impact speakers' identity representation.

“Our community is pragmatic more than it really should be. For example, we tend to break up our language and modify it, so that others could understand us, even if they could have understood us if we talked in the way we normally talk. So, we have this tendency to celebrate and appreciate others whoever they are and we accommodate them in language and beyond”.

Accordingly, the migrants’ beliefs that their dialect lacks esteem and modernity and that it is possibly incomprehensible form a central ideological standpoint in their lives. This ideology motivates them to change their local forms of ND and accommodate to speakers of other dialects in Muscat by using the features they hear there. Such attitudes to their local dialect and the language shift can be compared to Taqi’s (2010) report on the Ajami Kuwaitis’ shift to Najdi Arabic due to the negative attitudes to the Ajami group and the contrasting social-esteem of the Najdis.

Notably, the change towards supralocal forms amongst the Nizwa migrants can also be related to their view that they are educated individuals. There is a unanimous agreement amongst the migrants that they sound different from their parents and grandparents because they are educated. It is thus important to revisit the relationship between education and the dialect changes in Nizwa Arabic. In this study, this social aspect of the speakers’ lives has been tied to the factors of age and AoA. Within the sample, the age of participants can sometimes be linked to an increase in speakers’ respective educational level as seen in (7.1.3). AoA has also been correlated with education in (6.1.4.1) since migration to Muscat is mostly initiated by enrolment in higher education institutions. Education seems to stir some controversy with regard to its role in language variation. On the one hand, there is Al-Wer’s (1991, 2002) aforementioned view that education mainly facilitates inter-dialectal contact, but it does not trigger a dialect change (see 7.1.3). Indeed, this effect is affirmed in this study as seen in the above analysis of the speakers’ social networks (see 8.2.2). Furthermore, some participants also alluded to the fact that education is not directly related to their language use as understood from the following statement by the participant AH.

(6)

“Education has always been there. I mean, it does not use the vocabulary of the dialect or something like that to make an effect [on ND]. This [sort of change] is really the effect of the society and the environment that you live in, because these words are [learned] from the environment, the neighborhood, the people around you... I mean education does not tell us about the words of our dialect”.

On the other hand, there is also Wenger's (1998:215) acknowledgement that "learning transforms who we are and what we can do, it is an experience of identity". This emphasizes that we cannot overlook the effect of education on speakers' identity. Undeniably, the speakers in the sample associate their language change with their identity as educated people and this can be inferred from the testimonials in example (1) of section (6.1.4.1). Similarly, two of the highly-educated participants (PhD holders) gave the following statements to describe the effect of education on the language use of the speakers of ND.

(7)

- a. **NAZ**: "Of course [ND] changed. Because now there are new sources [for the language] that the parents were not exposed to. Even amongst older generations, educated people did not speak like the non-educated. Literate people read books and use phrases, sentences and words that the illiterate could not be familiar with. So, when a person talks, you could tell that he is educated... from his way of talking".
- b. **MR**: "There is a change [in the ND]. It can be seen in syllables, sounds and words... Also there are changes in the sentence structures and even pronunciations. In the past, people had faster speech rate. But now, people's mentality has risen, so now they now they listen more... When a person has an education, his speech rate decreases... In the past it was not like this [because people were illiterate]".

These statements reflect the fact that not only lexical choices change as a result of education, but also the fact that pronunciation may differ. For example, with a fast speech rate, a phenomenon like vowel syncope would be likely to occur, as verified by Bolozky and Schwarzwald (1990:23). They state that increased speech rate is associated with a decreased attention to syllables and can hence result in a syllable reduction. However, amongst the literate speakers (like those who migrate to Muscat), a slower speech rate is associated with a decrease in the likelihood of deleting the vowels in word-onsets. This is indeed confirmed in this study since syncope applies at a rate of 31% only amongst those educated migrants (see 6.2).

The Nizwa migrants' reference to education as a source for the change in their linguistic behavior can be compared to the adoption of British English features by Americans due to their view of "British English, as superior, intelligent and educated" in comparison to American English (Eckert 2003:48). Bucholtz (1996) for example reports on the use of the release of word-final /t/ (a British

feature) by high school girls in a Northern California School. She explains that this use is a mechanism used by the girls to identify themselves as nerds; i.e. smart and intelligent. Eckert (2003:48) clarifies that amongst such groups in her own study, the “use of /t/ release was a prominent resource in their development of a distinctive “intellectual” verbal style” and it is based on the view of the superiority of British English. Thus, the use of new linguistic features can be interpreted to be a source for claiming intellectual superiority and reflecting an identity of an intelligent and educated speaker.

These observations show that within Nizwa migrants, education not only affects the types of contact they have, but it also plays an important role in shaping their identities which subsequently influences their linguistic behavior. This, in turn, confirms that linguistic choices of one variety over another can be related to “the speaker’s willingness to be identified as belonging to a certain group and identity” (Taqi 2010:222). Social identity is hence another central issue that warrants further investigation in this context.

The social identity model⁷⁸ assumes that speakers’ social behavior is a manifestation of “(a) their affiliation to a particular group identity that is salient at that moment in the interaction, and (b) their interpretation of the relationship of one’s ingroup to salient outgroups” (Holmes and Meyerhoff 1999:177). Based on this, it can be inferred that the changes in ND amongst the migrants reflect a change in their identity and affiliations. The discussions presented thus far in this section entail that the migrants want to avoid stigmatization and being identified as rural and they want to project themselves as educated, modern and urban individuals who are part of Muscat’s prestigious culture. The migrants have explicitly expressed such identification as seen in (6.1.4.1), (7.1.3) and (8.2.1). They also regularly stressed the importance of education in the change in ND. Additionally, they talked about their need to make themselves understandable to fit in and be part of Muscat’s diverse community (see 6.1.4.1, 7.2.4.1 and 8.2.1).

Interestingly, the Nizwa migrants not only wanted to present themselves as educated and modern speakers, but they also signalled their membership of their original Nizwa community. Similarly, to the Martha’s Vineyard fisherfolk community (Labov 1963; see (2.5)), the Nizwa migrants expressed attachment to Nizwa. For example, while filling in the biographical data questionnaire during the interviews, most of the participants stressed that they currently live in Muscat but that

⁷⁸ See (2.5.3).

they still spend weekends in Nizwa and regularly visit the town for familial and religious occasions. This emphasis indicates that the speakers do not detach themselves from Nizwa. Speakers' attachment and appreciation of Nizwa can also be understood from the statements below.

(8)

- a. **SKA:** "I am not the type of person who can be away from my place [i.e. from Nizwa] for a long time. I mean, I go from Nizwa to Muscat, but sometimes I cannot stand being away for a whole month".
- b. **MSS:** "The weekend in which I don't go to Nizwa and I stay in Muscat, I feel that I am missing something and there is something different in my week. I miss the [weekly family] gatherings in Nizwa".

They also signalled their longing for Nizwa and the quality of life they have there as clarified by the comparisons they made between life in Muscat and in Nizwa in the statements in (9).

(9)

- a. **SF:** “In Nizwa, [bonding with neighbors] was really strong. I mean, you know everybody in all houses and you even know their cousins and who visits them and who does not. You see it was even to this extent. We used to play with the neighbors’ children... go to school together... [and] check on each other... There is more bonding [than here in Muscat]. I mean here, the guys like my brothers are busy. Thus, it is difficult to go and visit without telling them in advance, but you do not need to call in Nizwa where you can visit at any time... I am living in Muscat and raising my children in this environment, but even if I try to raise them in the same way we grew up with [in Nizwa], the environment [here in Muscat] will not help. Because there [in Nizwa], they all come from the same place and the same culture... Here [in Muscat], most people are migrants from outside and there are different cultures, different people and different social classes... And there is an important factor which is that there [in Nizwa] there are religious norms and shared norms by all parents”.
- b. **ZY:** “We used to gather in my grandparents’ house [in Nizwa]. The house was always full and anyone could come at any time... Now it is different. My grandparents moved to Muscat like 1-2 years ago. We still gather, but not everybody attends. I mean, sometimes I do not see my uncles for long periods. Also, it is not like before [when you were in Nizwa] that you can visit anyone’s house at any time. Now, you would be like ‘we need to tell them, maybe it does not suit them’... The neighbors in Nizwa are much better. Every afternoon they gather and have coffee together or they go for visits. They have many gatherings. In Muscat, I do not have any connections with my neighbors. One of them even works with me, but I only see her at work. We never visit each other”.
- c. **MSS:** “I think that the moral side in the public schools in Muscat receives less attention than what you find in the interior regions [like Nizwa]... In Nizwa it is OK [to keep your children] in public schools because there is more care and they pay attention to the moral side more [than in Muscat]”.

Participant YB also talked about prioritizing his children’s best interests and having his family stay in Nizwa instead of bringing them to Muscat, so that they would acquire the values he grew up with there. He said:

(10)

“I do not prefer to have them [my children] live here [in Muscat] with all due respect to the people, the families here and to the place. This is because there is a mixture here which will make it difficult to have control over them... while in Nizwa, yes there is modern life, but we still have a strong presence for the local ‘social character’. Knowing that it is difficult for me to be away from my children and to be living alone, but I would rather sacrifice my comfort for the sake of raising my children [in Nizwa]”.

Such reflections and nostalgic statements are indicative of the affection these speakers feel for Nizwa and their desire for their children to have the quality of life they had there.

In addition to such feelings, many of the participants talked about their tendency to preserve their original dialect. The statements below indicate that the speakers want to keep this part of their Nizwa identity, that they are proud and not ashamed of their dialect and that they want to teach others about it.

(11)

- a. **ZY:** “I did not change my dialect a lot. I do not have this tendency to be affected by the way others’ speak”.
- b. **MAA:** “Yes, [I do not change my dialect] I mean, why should I change it?. It isn’t a principle to me that I change my dialect, so they [my friends at university] would understand. I feel it is very nice that I keep my dialect and they keep theirs. This way, we can learn nice words”.
- c. **KNS:** “For example, I use words we say [in ND] and here at work [in Muscat], they [i.e. my colleagues] comment on me. But I do not care; I still use them even if they laugh... Sometimes, I use words and they say to me ‘what is this?’ So, I tell them honestly that’s it. This is my dialect, you need to get it, and I explain the meanings to them”.
- d. **YSR:** “Many of them [i.e. young people from Nizwa] are still using the vocabulary of ND even though others laugh at them...I try to use poetry to prove to people that the features of the ND are from the *fus²ha* [i.e. SA]”.
- e. **YB:** “Because I work in a museum, I am still able to recall a lot of the local words of the dialect... I thank Allah, my job helped me keep my dialect and I am happy with that. And I like using it”.

These examples reflect the migrants' desire to affiliate themselves with Nizwa and to maintain that part of their identity. These views and ingrained affection for Nizwa and its culture represent in the mind of the migrants an opposing ideology to the one mentioned previously. This ideology motivates the shift towards ND rather than out of it. This is especially obvious by reflecting on my results for the use of local variants (for syncope, second-person feminine singular suffix, future marker and *yes/no* question clitics) in the careful speech context. Also, the overall use of the affricated variant of the second-person feminine marker particularly shows that this is a marker for their Nizwa identity (see 7.1.3). Such linguistic shift and maintenance of ND features tie with Labov's (2001:191) explanation that linguistic change can be attributed to "the association of a linguistic form with membership in [a] social group". As Ivars (1994:205) explains, in dialect contact situations, a re-evaluation of a speaker's identity can result in a complete change of linguistic norms, yet speakers may also be more conscious of their "specific ethnic character, with this consciousness being expressed in the maintenance of the language representing the ethnic identity". Indeed, it seems to be the case amongst the Nizwa migrants that they are going through a struggle with their conflicting ideologies and identities as reflected in their language use. There is a statistically significant tendency for substituting ND norms and accommodating supralocal norms. However, at the conscious level, the ideology of the importance of representing their ethnic orientation and Nizwa identity leads in some respects in the opposite direction, i.e. to the convergence and maintenance of ND.

The dialect change situation within the Nizwa migrants is similar to that of the Finland Swedish migrants in Sweden as reported by Ivars (1994) (see 2.5.3). In both cases, the rural dialect is not accepted in the new urban setting. As the migrants want acceptance and to be understood, they feel obliged to use the new urban linguistic forms. However, this does not have to be at the expense of the original dialect which can still continue to be used in the right communicative events and to signal in-group identity; i.e. Nizwa identity in this study. Such observations corroborate Meyerhoff (1994:1-2) view of the characteristics of speakers' identity which clarifies that:

- “(1) Speakers possess many different identities - some personal; some group (or social).
- (2) Identities vary in their salience in different communicative events, but all of a speaker’s different identities are always present and available to them in a communicative event.
- (3) Identities vary in salience depending on numerous non-linguistic variables: topic; interlocutor; affective goals of the speaker.
- (4) Hence, a speaker’s identification with different identities has the potential to change during the life cycle”.

A further remark that should be linked to Nizwa migrants’ desire for maintaining Nizwa identity is that this attitude is accompanied by pressure for maintaining ND. The speakers cannot entirely replace their ND and they still continue using many more of its features. Were this not the case, they would be disdained and negatively viewed by the local community. This can be understood from the following example.

(12)

SF: “Actually, there is influence [from other dialects], but I cannot say that there is a distortion or a big change in the dialect of Nizwa youths... mixing with any people, any family or culture has to have an influence... But I think this influence is within the acceptable range among the Nizwa youths whom I interact with... I mean some old people condemn those who use words that do not belong to ND”.

In fact, it is not only the local community of Nizwa which does not approve of a complete shift in the norms of ND as the migrants themselves also do not support such a change. Participant YSR for example talked about what he considered an extreme change he witnessed in a friend’s lifestyle and language and he expressed his shock at this ‘negative’ change. He mentioned:

(13)

“There are some Nizwa guys who radically changed as soon as they left [Nizwa]. It is not only their dialect that changed, but it is really everything. I mean I even saw a young man wearing the turban like Bedouin people. I was very shocked and I asked him ‘what happened to you?’ I mean he even changed his speech when he talked to me. I think those who go to Muscat a lot become very open... When parents raise their children to respect and value their cultural norms, then when they go out of their city, they would not become open in such negative ways. They would never abandon their norms and principles. Instead, they would feel proud of their origin and the way they talk”.

Such an attitude is also reported by Miller (2005) who writes about the case of the Upper Egyptian migrants in Cairo. She mentions that Cairene Arabic is esteemed and migrants converge to it, yet the local Upper Egyptian variety is still used as an expression of local identity. Miller (2005:913) states that a speaker could be “negatively perceived by his relatives or peers if he is speaking CA [Cairene Arabic] in informal settings. He will be considered either as snobbish or [fa:fi], that is, effeminate”.

Having shown that different ideologies are activated in diverse situations amongst the Nizwa migrants, it should be noted that the variables under investigation correspond to these ideologies differently. Despite the attested communal linguistic patterns, it cannot be ignored that the speakers of ND do not unanimously use the five variables throughout their communications. A dialect change towards socially-esteemed variants is manifested in the ongoing change in labializations, syncope, future marker and the *yes/no* question clitics. However, the dynamics for the changes in these variables differ since the effects for gender, age, AoA, LoR and speech style are not unified across the five variables. This observation indicates that the strength of the effect of the different ideologies alternates from one variable to another. Thus, speakers can be understood to reflect different parts of their identities and different attitudes at different communicative events. For example, the prevalence of a gender effect in syncope signals the dominance of women’s attitudes with regard to promoting their social status (see 6.2.4.1). Likewise, the use of the non-labialized vowel [i] of the labialization variable in the careful speech indicates a preference for projecting an image of a modern and educated speaker over that of a local person. These observations relate to Meyerhoff’s (1994) aforementioned report that speakers’ can have many different identities which vary in salience based on speakers’ affective goals. They are also in line with the view that the

changing frequencies in the speakers' use of the different variables are triggered by changes in their social preferences and attitudes (Labov 2001:191). As stated by Eckert (2008:453):

“[T]he meanings of variables are not precise or fixed but rather constitute a field of potential meanings –an *indexical field*, or constellation of ideologically related meanings, any one of which can be activated in the situated use of the variable”.

Finally, changes amongst speaker of ND could be construed to be ideologically motivated by desires including avoidance of stigmatization, facilitating understanding and claiming the identity of an educated, modern and urban speaker. However, this ideology is restrained by attitudinal stances. Firstly, Nizwa migrants want to maintain their dialect as a way of preserving their ethnic identity. Secondly, the local community disapproves of the relinquishment of the local dialect and criticizes a complete shift towards MA or GA.

The following section discusses the limitation of this study and provides directions for future research that bear some of these explanations in mind.

8.3 Limitation of the study and future directions

In this research, social factors have no doubt been instrumental in the changes to speakers' use of ND. However, further insights into the effect of the age factor are required since age-grading could well be a possible explanation (see 7.1.3). This calls for more data to be collected from speakers who are older than 50 years and preferably those who are retired. Fulfilling this task will also help to eliminate doubt as to the significance of the interaction between age and gender in the use of syncope (see 6.2.4.1).

The effect of social network, ideology and identity have also been reported to be instrumental in this study and information on these issues was devised qualitatively. However, it is important to acknowledge that “actual social networks are difficult to study in detail due to their size and complexity” (Clem 2016:83). Additionally, ideologies and identities are changing and non-static (see 8.2.3). Therefore, it would be more reliable and indeed more informative to also employ quantitative instruments for assessing the strength of Nizwa migrants' networks (e.g. Milroy and

Milroy 1987; Al-Essa 2008). Similar methods could also be used to uncover the migrants' attitudes towards their dialect and their standpoints in relation to their identities (e.g. Taqi 2010; Atkinson 2011; Sanderson 2013).

This study included only educated speakers with a minimum of a BA degree or those who are enrolled in a BA programme. This lacuna is attributed to several reasons. First, including speakers of different educational levels would have resulted in too large a sample to analyze within the timeframe. Secondly, recruiting participants who do not hold a BA degree would require me to meet with participants (especially males) working in places like the army and the police. This would mean that formal applications and gatekeeper permissions would have been required which could make the process time-consuming and may not, in the end, have been fruitful given the cultural trends identified here which prefer the social separation between the genders. As clarified by McElwee and Al-Riyami (2003:339), Omani women's career choices and progression are influenced by cultural, economic and educational forces. Given that Omani society remains conservative in this respect, older generations resisted their daughters' employment in the army and the police for a long time (although this view is now changing and people are becoming more open to those career choices). Thirdly, it is unlikely that females with lower educational degrees would migrate to Muscat to work. Many of them are in fact housewives and thus I have more limited access to them socially. This would result in unbalanced numbers of males and females in the sample. However, it would be interesting to consider including speakers with different educational levels in future research since this would add to our knowledge regarding the extent to which educational effects really have changed Nizwa Arabic. It would also add valuable input to the impact of socioeconomic class on the changes observed since differences in educational levels generally also lead to differences in income capacity.⁷⁹ Indeed, sociolinguistic research has regularly shown that socioeconomic differences correlate with linguistic variation (e.g. Labov 1990, Milroy and Milroy 1992, Ash 2006).

A further interesting direction for future research is to replicate this study with speakers of ND who are settled in Nizwa to examine whether the features that are adopted by the migrants have started to diffuse there via expansion diffusion (see 1.1.3 and Kerswill 2006). Likewise, it would be interesting to investigate the changes in the dialects of other migrants to Muscat and compare the

⁷⁹ It should be noted that the Omani government regulates the minimum wages for employees and workers' educational levels are used as a reference point. Further details on this can be found in the website of The Ministry of Manpower (<https://www.manpower.gov.om/Portal/Index.aspx>).

changes in Sedentary and Bedouin dialects since this will further contribute to our understanding of prestige and its assignment in this capital city, which is characterized by its superdiversity (see 1.1.2). It would also be interesting to investigate the change in the use of the linguistic variables examined in this study in other communities and dialects, especially the use of the vocalic variables since research on Arabic sociolinguistics does not focus on such variation.

8.4 Conclusion

This study has the advantage of being the first sociolinguistic research that examines the effect of internal migration to Oman's most urban center, Muscat, which presents patterns of superdiversity (Vertovec 2007). It aimed to uncover the patterns of variability and change in the unexplored dialect of Nizwa Arabic as its speakers migrate to Muscat for educational and economic purposes, in the hope of making a better future. The study was designed to bridge the gaps in our scholarly understanding of the dynamics of dialect contact and shift in this region by providing insights into some aspects of Nizwa Arabic and the sociolinguistic situation of this distinctive Omani dialect.

This study was conceived as contributing to the field of Arabic sociolinguistics by examining vocalic and morpho-syntactic features that have not been investigated previously. It looked at the variation in the use of five linguistic features of ND which are: (i) The labialization of the high front vowel /i/; (ii) The syncope of short vowels in unstressed CV word-onsets; (iii) The affrication of the second-person feminine singular suffix; (iv) Marking the future with the prefix [ʔa-] and (v) The use of clitics in *yes/no* questions. It investigated whether Nizwa migrants accommodated towards sedentary and non-sedentary supralocal linguistic features readily available to certain social groups in Muscat. This research also examined whether the accommodation is associated with diverse social factors, namely, gender, age, AoA and LoR. Additionally, it investigated whether the attention paid to speech in different speech styles (casual vs. careful) could result in an increased rate for the divergence from ND. Furthermore, this study aimed to expand our knowledge of the effect that structural/linguistic conditions can have on linguistic variation within this group of speakers. This was achieved by investigating the influence of applicable internal factors on the use of labialization (i.e. the effect of consonants in the preceding and following environments), syncope (i.e. the effect of the quality of the vowel and the sonority of the preceding and following sounds) and the future marker (i.e. the effect of proximity in the future, as well as voice and animacy of the subject).

Notably, this research provides advances that broaden our knowledge of the five linguistic variables outlined above. It offered a cross-dialectal comparison of their use in ND and in other varieties of Arabic. This study shows that while the processes of labialization, syncope and the affrication of the second-person feminine singular suffix are found in many varieties of Arabic, the application of labialization in ND actually differs in interesting ways from existing accounts of this process. Precisely, it reveals that it is not only /t/ or emphatic and back consonants that may cause labialization in ND, rather all post-velar consonants (i.e. gutturals) can also trigger this process in the variety. Moreover, unlike existing reports, labialization in ND fails to apply when emphatic and guttural consonants are found pre-vocalically. This study also reveals that although the affrication of the second-person feminine singular suffix is linguistically conditioned in many varieties of Arabic, the variants of this morpheme are actually in free variation in the speech of Nizwa migrants. These observations imply that although some linguistic features may be used cross-linguistically or across dialects, they may still differ in the linguistic parameters that condition them. This investigation also reviewed the idiosyncratic features of the future particle [ʔa-] and the *yes/no* question clitics in ND. It offered an analysis of the development of the future variant [ʔa-] and delineated the use of the question clitics in this variety of Arabic. Carrying out these tasks is indeed the first step towards the documentation of this dialect which could help future research gain insights about linguistic features/processes that exist across the whole of the Arabian Peninsula.

Findings from this study confirms that speakers can indeed diverge from ND norms with regard to the variables of labialization, syncope, the future prefix and *yes/no* question clitics. These results are statistically significant and there is also compelling evidence of dialect convergence towards the typical ND variant of the second-person feminine singular suffix. For this variable, the supralocal variant [-ik] is low in frequency and the overall linguistic behavior of the migrants suggests that the use of this linguistic feature is more typical of stability. The findings also reveal that the change in ND is not necessarily towards features from the dominant dialect of MA, but rather non-sedentary features are also being favored over Sedentary ones typical of both ND and MA alike. This is particularly clear for the use of the variables of labialization, syncope and the second-person feminine singular suffix. For these, the local variants of ND are also used in MA. However, the Nizwa migrants consider these features to be less prestigious than the non-sedentary variants of these variables. Similarly, the use of the future particle *raḥ* is another example of the shift towards non-sedentary dialectal features since this particle is typical of Bedouin GA, but not MA (see 5.2.2.1). Such observations support Holes' (2011b) assertion regarding the spread of a

homogenized dialect in the Gulf States and his reports on the use of this dialect by educated speakers in Muscat (see 3.3.2.2). This issue is hence a potential avenue for future research which could investigate what other variables of GA are spreading amongst Sedentary dialects in Oman and beyond.

This research presents further original and noteworthy findings. Regarding methodology, this study is consistent with others in the field of Arabic sociolinguistics in showing that sociolinguistic interviews, picture-tasks and map-tasks can all be useful methods for generating valuable data on phonological and morphological variation and change (e.g. Taqi 2010, Yaseen 2018). Most importantly, it confirms that the transformation-task, which is derived from studies on Western languages, can indeed be adopted by Arabic sociolinguists and it is a useful technique for successfully obtaining syntactic judgement data on Arabic dialects. It should also be noted; however, that relying solely on the map-task to produce monitored data on morphological variables like the second-person feminine singular morpheme and the future morpheme can have some drawbacks. For example, I had a few cases when speakers avoided using the expected variants for those variables while undertaking this task. Instead, they gave directions on the map using a generic masculine form (as a substitute for the second-person feminine singular suffix) or the present tense (in lieu of the future one).

Further interesting results were revealed while addressing the first proposed research question which is:

1. To what extent is the use of these variables affected by the extra-linguistic factors of gender, age, AoA, LoR and speech style?

Findings from this study show that the social patterning of the linguistic variation amongst the Nizwa migrants does not conform to the widely documented trends that are attested in different languages and communities. This is especially relevant to the effect of the factors gender, age, AoA and speech style. First, although women are reported to be the leaders of linguistic change (e.g. Britain 1992; Cheshire 2002; Al-Essa 2008), male and female migrants from Nizwa are shown to equally diverge from ND rules (with respect to labialization, the future morpheme and *yes/no* question clitics). Also, a male-led change is attested in the use of the second-person feminine singular suffix. Second, amongst the Nizwa migrants, middle-aged and older speakers (25-50

years) are found to be the highest adopters of the innovative features (for syncope and the second-person feminine singular suffix) despite the view that innovation is associated with youth (e.g. Trudgill 1972; Britain 1992; Taqi 2010; Atkinson 2011). Third, while a younger AoA is acknowledged to trigger a higher rate of acquisition of the new dialectal features (e.g. Chambers 1992; Siegel 2010), this study again presents contradictory findings. It shows that a younger AoA (i.e. less than 18 years) is not necessarily associated with success in acquiring the D2 features. On the contrary, older AoA is actually more likely to be tied to supralocal uses of labialization, the second-person feminine singular suffix and the future prefix. Fourth, similarly to existing literature (e.g. Labov 2001), a divergence from the ND rule of labialization is confirmed in careful speech style. Yet, a new trend also emerges here in which there is a convergence towards ND rules of syncope, the second-person feminine singular suffix, the future marker and the *yes/no* question clitics. Regarding the effect of LoR, this study supports the existing view that a longer LoR can lead to a higher usage of new dialectal features (e.g. Trudgill 1986; Tagliamonte and Molfenter 2007) as this is indicated by the analyses relevant to labialization and the second-person feminine singular morpheme.

The study has also addressed questions on the role of the internal factors in changes to the variables of labialization, syncope and the future marker. These are:

2. To what extent is the variable use of the vocalic variables affected by the preceding and following linguistic conditions? And do these environments interact with each other in eliminating the local use?
3. To what extent is the variable use of the future marker affected by the linguistic conditions which influence this morpheme in other languages (e.g. proximity in the future, grammatical subject and animacy of the subject)?

This study found that the migrants significantly labialize the vowel /i/ when an emphatic sound appears in the following environment. Remarkably, velar sounds post-vocalically have been shown to resist labialization in the migrants' speech although they are documented to appear with back vowels (Chen and Kent 2005). Likewise, syncope has been shown to be used at high levels of significance when the #CV syllable contains the vowel /i/ more than when the syllable has /a/ or /u/. Although the sonority of the following sound is insignificant for the variable use of syncope, a higher rate of divergence from ND is triggered when a consonant of high sonority (i.e. nasal, liquid,

or glide) appears before the short vowel. The results also confirm that the migrants produce word-onsets that obey the SSP (Clements 1990) to a large extent and that the sequence nasal-sonorant is the only context in which a violation of SSP occurs. It would indeed be interesting to uncover whether a further change in this process would result in eliminating this violation in the speech of migrants from Nizwa. Furthermore, future research could benefit from this investigation and undertake sociolinguistic studies that examine the effect of sonority in the variable use of syncope in other dialects and communities. Regarding the future morpheme, results show that the local marker [ʔa-] is significantly used in the context of conditional events while the supralocal variants [ba-] and *raḥ* are favored in the context of near future. These findings confirm that the grammaticalization of the [ba-] and *raḥ* variants of this morphological feature is not yet complete amongst this group of speakers. The variants [ba-] and *raḥ* are thus expected to undergo further progress and to eventually develop to be used when the events in question are both distant and conditional. Therefore, further research could address this issue and investigate the use of these particles to follow up on their development amongst this group of speakers.

To my knowledge, there is no documented sociolinguistic investigation which examines the effects of linguistic conditions on the variables outlined in this study. Thus, the results presented in this investigation make an important contribution to current knowledge of how these processes function cross-dialectally within the Arabic language family and what changes they can be subject to. Notably, although the implication of variability for a theory of language structure has been a debatable issue, findings from research such as this project indicate that input from variationist studies is undeniably important (Hudson 1997). As Hudson (1997) explains, “statistical data can have implications of some kind for the theory concerned, by supporting or contradicting one of the claims derivable from it... [and that] we can at last hope for a fruitful meeting between variation data and theories of language structure”. Therefore, it is expected that the findings offered in this study could play a role in future research which aims to bridge the gap between the variationist paradigm and theoretical linguistics, as articulated in Cornips and Corrigan (2005a/b), for instance. Likewise, it could expand our knowledge of the notion of ‘inherent variability’ (Labov 1972a) and its implications for variationist as well as structural linguistics (see 8.1.2 for an example).

Most importantly, the findings of this study will make an important contribution to the field of language variation and dialect contact. It revealed, for example, that geographical mobility does not only lead to contact-induced change, but rather that certain local dialectal features can be

retained so as to index ethnic affiliations. Furthermore, the study has delineated new patterns for the effect of social categories on linguistic variation which emphasizes the idea that they cannot be dissociated from speakers' daily lives and experiences. Indeed, the neutralization of the effect of gender and the parallel linguistic behavior of men and women in this study mirror the social change that Omani society has undergone in recent decades. More importantly, this trend signals the fact that the effect of gender on linguistic variation may result from speakers' shared ideologies, attitudes to their dialect and their collective desire to reflect a certain identity or identities in disparate speech contexts. Moreover, this research has demonstrated that age and AoA are not divorced from micro categories like personal social networks. Connecting such categories with each other has assisted with understanding the unusual effects of age and AoA within the Nizwa migrants' community and allowed us to understand why their effects here depart from traditional views that isolate these factors from speakers' social lives. This investigation shows that an older age entails an increased involvement in the linguistic market, and that a younger AoA is linked to greater local contacts. These facts suggest that speakers' exposure to local vs. supralocal variants differs within those social categories. This hence makes the effect of age and AoA more robust than previous accounts have presumed. Additionally, this study shares with existing literature the view that identity and ideology are key factors for precipitating linguistic variation and that speech style helps with uncovering speakers' affiliations. At the same time, it shows that the linguistic variation attested amongst Nizwa migrants contradicts presupposed views concerning the effect of speech style. As such, this study allows us not to be guided simply by theorized divisions and to reinterpret the role of the speech context in linguistic variation. The study also highlights the fact that identity and beliefs are malleable and that speakers may adopt different affiliations and viewpoints in different speech contexts. Ultimately, the findings presented throughout this study not only affirm that language heterogeneity is principled and rule governed (Labov 1972a; 2001), but also emphasize the fact that mapping speakers' linguistic behavior to their contact patterns, local affiliations and beliefs as well as contextualizing the linguistic variation are vital considerations for interpreting the extent of linguistic change at the level of the individual as well as the community in which they reside. This intensifies the sense that a holistic approach is required to develop an integrated picture of language variation and change within a group of speakers.

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Appendix A. Project Description



A.1 PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET: English version

Project title: PhD: A Sociolinguistic Study of Nizwa Dialect, Oman

You are invited to participate in an interview/s for the purposes of academic research carried out by Suaad Ambusaidi as part of her PhD in Linguistics at Newcastle University. Before you decide to participate, you need to understand why the project is being conducted and what participation would involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully before you decide whether to take part. Do not hesitate to ask questions if anything you read is unclear or you would like more information.

Purpose & objectives

The purpose of the interview is to inform the critical component of her PhD thesis in Nizwa dialect in Oman which will textually analyse and critically reflect on how the dialect is used. This interview will give Suaad Ambusaidi the opportunity to explore this question in greater depth.

Participation Selection

The choice of interviewees is informed by relevance to subject areas and themes particular to this thesis.

Voluntary participation

Your participation in this research is entirely voluntary. If you decide to participate, you will be asked to sign a consent form to show that you agree to participate. You have the right to withdraw your consent or discontinue participation at any time without any consequences or any explanation by contacting the researcher and the supervisors at the address given below. If you withdraw from the study, your data will only be considered if you give explicit written permission to Suaad Ambusaidi through the email address provided below.

What is involved?

If you agree to participate in the project, you will be asked to sit for an informal interview. You will also be asked to do a short reading of words and sentences, comment on pictures and give directions from a map. Your participation will consist of a mutually agreed number of interviews of no more than 1 hour and 30 minutes in total. The session/s will be recorded using a microphone and digital recorder, and will normally take place in the researcher's house or yours if you prefer. No financial or other incentive can be offered for participation.

Risks

Participation does not involve any known or anticipated risks or discomfort to you. Participation may cause some inconvenience to you because it will require 1 hour and 30 minutes of your time for an agreed number of interviews. Anxiety is also expected, but as the tasks are very informal and resemble your daily interactions with people, it should not be experienced for a long time. Also, the tasks will be carried out at time convenient for you.

Data collected will be treated confidentially and nothing that can identify you will be included in the information used for the research.



Anonymity

I will collect personal data about you and this will be regarded as strictly confidential. All study files will be kept securely locked and will only be accessed by the researcher involved in the study. Data will be computed and access to the files will be password-protected and available to researcher only for the purpose of the study. All data stored on the computer will be coded and your name will not be used. You will be given a unique study pseudonym name which will be shown on all data and test results if any reference is needed.

All the information about your participation in this study will be kept confidential.

Confidentiality & Access to and Storage of the Data

The recordings and orthographic transcripts of the recordings will be stored on password-protected computers and a password-protected server. Access to the computer files will be restricted to the named researcher.

In exceptional circumstances this material may be shared with PhD supervisors and examiners, on request and with the consent of the named researcher.

Hard copies of the transcripts and biographical information sheets (participant contact details) will be stored in a locked cabinet in a locked office. Access to these will be restricted to the named researcher.

Dissemination of results

It is anticipated that the results of this research will contribute to and inform the critical component of Suaad Ambusaidi's PhD thesis and that participant responses will be quoted within the thesis.

Further information and contact details

If you have any questions about this project, would like more information about this project, or would like to raise any concerns you might have please do not hesitate to contact:

Suaad Ambusaidi

29 Blythswood

10 Osborne Road

Newcastle upon Tyne

NE2 2BG, UK

s.ambu-saidi@newcastle.ac.uk

Professor. Karen Corrigan & Dr. Daneille Turton

School of English Literature, Language & Linguistics

Percy Building, Rooms 3.19 & 3.11

Newcastle University

Newcastle upon Tyne

NE1 7RU, UK

Emails: k.p.corrigan@newcastle.ac.uk , Danielle.Turton@newcastle.ac.uk



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A.2 PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET: Arabic version

ورقة معلومات المشاركة

عنوان المشروع: دكتوراه في دراسة اللهجة نزوى في سلطنة عمان

أنت مدعو للمشاركة في مقابلة بغرض البحث العلمي يتم اجرائها من قبل سعاد أمبوسعيدى كجزء من شهادة الدكتوراه في اللغويات في جامعة نيوكاسل. قبل أن تقرر المشاركة، تحتاج إلى فهم لماذا يتم إجراء هذا البحث وماذا تنطوي المشاركة فيه. يرجى أخذ الوقت لقراءة المعلومات التالية بعناية قبل أن تقرر ما إذا كانت ستشارك. لا تتردد في طرح الأسئلة إذا كان أي شيء غير واضح أو إذا كنت ترغب في مزيد من المعلومات.

الغرض والأهداف

الغرض من المقابلة هو أداء العنصر الحاسم في أطروحة دكتوراه في لهجة الداخلية في عمان والتي سوف يتم تحليلها لتوضيح كيفية استعمال هذه اللهجة. وهذه المقابلة تعطي سعاد أمبوسعيدى الفرصة لاستكشاف هذه المسألة بمزيد من التعمق.

اختيار المشاركين

اختيار المشاركين في هذه الدراسة يكون وفقاً لأهداف الدراسة.

المشاركة الطوعية

مشاركتكم في هذا البحث هو طوعي تماماً. إذا قررت المشاركة، سوف يطلب منك التوقيع على استمارة الموافقة لإثبات أنك وافقت على المشاركة. لديك الحق في سحب موافقتك أو إيقاف مشاركتك في أي وقت دون أي عواقب أو أي تفسير عن طريق الاتصال الباحث والمشرفين على العنوان الوارد أدناه. إذا اخترت الانسحاب من الدراسة، لن يتم استخدام مشاركتك أو البيانات الخاصة بك إلا بإذن خطي صريح منك لسعاد أمبوسعيدى من خلال عنوان البريد الإلكتروني الواردة أدناه.

ماذا تتضمن المشاركة؟

إذا وافقت على المشاركة في المشروع، سوف يطلب منك الجلوس لمقابلة غير رسمية. كما سيطلب منك أن قراءة بعض الكلمات والجمل، والتعليق على صور وإعطاء توجيهات من الخريطة. وستألف مشاركتكم عدد متفق عليه من المقابلات لا يزيد عن 1 ساعة و 30 دقيقة في المجموع. سيتم تسجيل مشاركتكم باستخدام الميكروفون ومسجل رقمي. لا يوجد أي حافز مالي أو غيره للمشاركة.

المخاطر

المشاركة لا تنطوي على أي مخاطر معروفة أو متوقعة ولا تتضمن إخلالاً براحتكم. قد تسبب المشاركة بعض الإزعاج لكم حيث أنها ستتطلب 1 ساعة و 30 دقيقة من وقتك. ومن المتوقع شعورك بالقلق، ولكن بما أن المهام غير رسمية وتشبه التفاعلات اليومية مع الناس، فلا يتوقع استمرار القلق لفترة طويلة. وكذلك سيتم إجراء المقابلة في وقت مناسب لكم. سيتم التعامل مع البيانات التي تم جمعها بصفة سرية، ولن يتم إدراج شيء يمكن أن يكشف عن هويتك في المعلومات المستخدمة للبحث.

الخصوصية

سيتم التعامل ببياناتكم الشخصية بسرية تامة. وستبقى كل ملفات الدراسة مقفلة بإحكام ولن يتمكن من الوصول إليها سوى الباحثة المؤدية للدراسة. سيتم الاحتفاظ بالبيانات في الكمبيوتر في ملفات ستكون محمية بكلمة مرور ومتاحة للباحث فقط لغرض الدراسة. سوف يتم تشفير جميع البيانات المخزنة على الكمبيوتر ولن يستخدم اسمك. سوف يتم استخدام أسماء مستعارة عند عرض البيانات ونتائج الاختبار إذا كانت هناك إلى أي إشارة. وستبقى جميع المعلومات حول مشاركتكم في هذه الدراسة سرية.



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السرية والوصول إلى وتخزين البيانات
سيتم تخزين التسجيلات والنصوص المكتوبة على أجهزة الكمبيوتر و ستكون محمية بكلمة مرور. سيتم تقييد الوصول إلى ملفات الكمبيوتر للباحث المذكور.

في ظروف استثنائية قد تتم مشاركة هذه المواد مع المشرفين على الدكتوراه والممتحنين، عند الطلب وبموافقة الباحث.

سيتم تخزين نسخ من محاضر وأوراق معلوماتكم (تفاصيل الاتصال بالمشاركين) في خزانة مقفلة في مكتب مقفل. وسيتم تقييد الوصول إلى هذه للباحث المذكور.

نشر النتائج

من المتوقع أن نتائج هذا البحث سوف تسهم في اتمام أطروحة الدكتوراه لسعاد أمبوسعيدي وسيتم عرض استجابات المشاركين ضمن الأطروحة.

مزيد من المعلومات وتفاصيل الاتصال

إذا كان لديك أي أسئلة حول هذا المشروع، أو إذا كنت ترغب في مزيد من المعلومات حول هذا المشروع، أو ان تطرح أية مخاوف قد تكون لديكم لا تترددوا في الاتصال:

سعاد أمبوسعيدي

بناية بلايشوود شقه 28

10 طريق أوزبورن

جيسموند، نيوكاسل أبون تاين

NE2 2BG، المملكة المتحدة

البريد الإلكتروني: s.ambu-saidi@newcastle.ac.uk

الهاتف: (0044)07476206617

البروفيسورة كارن كوريغان والدكتورة دانييل ترتون

مدرسة الأدب الإنجليزي، اللغة واللغويات

مبنى بيرسي، غرف 3.11 و 3.19

جامعة نيوكاسل

نيوكاسل أبون تاين

NE1 7RU، المملكة المتحدة

البريد الإلكتروني:

k.p.corrigan@newcastle.ac.uk & Danielle.Turton@newcastle.ac.uk



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Appendix B. Consent Form



B.1 Participant Consent Form: English version

Title of project: A Sociolinguistic Study of Nizwa Dialect, Oman

Name of project supervisors: Professor. Karen Corrigan & Dr. Danielle Turton

Name of researcher: Suaad Ambusaidi

1. I confirm that I have read and understood the participant information sheet for the above study.
2. I have been given the opportunity to have my questions answered by the researcher or supervisor (face-to-face, via telephone or e-mail)
3. I agree to take part in the project and be recorded while I am interviewed.
4. I accept that I will receive no payment for my participation in this project.
5. I agree that the recording of my conversation and accompanying material may be:
 - (i) stored in password-protected computer files, access to which will ordinarily be restricted to the named researcher;
 - (ii) shared with PhD supervisors and examiners in exceptional circumstances, on request and with the consent of the named researcher.
 - (iii) quoted in the PhD thesis of the named researcher.
6. I understand that my identity will not be revealed to anyone and any information that could reveal my identity will be secured.
7. I understand that my participation is completely voluntary and that I can withdraw from participation at any time without any consequences and without giving any explanation.

Name of participant giving consent

.....

Signature of participant giving consent

.....

Date consent was given

Name of researcher taking consent

.....

Signature of researcher taking consent

.....

A copy of this consent form will be left with you, and a copy will be taken by the researcher.



B.2 Participant Consent Form: Arabic version

إقرار بالموافقة

عنوان الدراسة: دراسة اجتماعية لغوية للهجة نزوى في سلطنة عمان
اسماء المشرفين: البروفيسورة كارن كوريغان و الدكتورة دانييل ترتون
اسم الباحث: سعاد أمبوسعيدي

1. أؤكد أنني قد قرأت وفهمت ورقة معلومات المشاركة في الدراسة المذكورة أعلاه.

2. أعطيت لي الفرصة لاجابة على اسألتي من قبل الباحث أو المشرف (وجها لوجه، عن طريق الهاتف أو البريد الإلكتروني)

3. أنا أوافق على المشاركة في المشروع واجراء مقابلات يتم تسجيلها.

4. أنا أعني لن أتلقي أي مقابل مادي لمشاركتي في هذا المشروع.

5. أوافق على أن تسجيل محادثاتي والمواد المصاحبة قد يكون:

(أ) مخزنا في ملفات كمبيوتر محميه بكلمة مرور، والوصول إليها سيتقتصر على الباحث المذكور.

(ب) متاحا لمشرفي الدكتوراه والممتحنين في ظروف استثنائية، بناء على طلبهم وبموافقة الباحث المذكور.

(ج) مقتبسا في أطروحة الدكتوراه للباحث المذكور.

6. أنا أفهم أنه سيتم التحفظ على هويتي ولن يتم اظهار أي معلومات من شأنها أن تكشف هويتي.

7. أنا أفهم أن مشاركتي طوعية تماما، وأني يمكن أن تنسحب من المشاركة في أي وقت دون أي عواقب ودون إعطاء أي

تفسير.

اسم المشارك

.....
التوقيع

.....
التاريخ

.....
اسم الباحث

.....
التوقيع

.....
نسخة للمشارك و نسخة للباحث

Appendix C. Participant's Biographical Data Questionnaire

استبيان المشارك في الدراسة

* كود المشترك:

1. الجنس: ☐ ذكر ☐ أنثى

2. العمر: -----

3. مكان الولادة: -----

4. مكان الإقامة في عمان: -----

5. مدة الإقامة في نزوى : ----- ☐ لا ينطبق

6. العمر عند الوصول إلى مسقط: -----

7. مدة الإقامة في مسقط: -----

Appendix D. Lists of Words Presented in the Controlled Tasks

The following token were presented in the picture and map tasks. Those words could potentially undergo the processes of labialization and syncope. Distractors were also included in the tasks, yet they are not presented in the following lists of target words.

1- Words which could undergo labialization

N.	Token		Task	gloss
1	جبنة	/gubnah/	picture	cheese (singular)
2	الكتاب	/luktab/	picture	the book
3	شقق	/ʃuqaq/	map	flats
4	مطاعم	/matʕa:ʕum/	map	restaurants
5	يكتب	/yutktub/	picture	he is writing
6	مناطق	/mana:tʕuq/	map	areas
7	تاجر	/ta:gur/	map	merchant
8	يكوي	/yukwi/	picture	is ironing
9	مواقف	/mawa:quf /	map	situations/parking
10	خارج	/xa:rug/	map	abroad
11	يمسح	/yumsah/	picture	erase/wipe
12	واجب	/wa:gub/	picture	homework
13	يربط	/yurbutʕ/	picture	is tying
14	يربط	/yurbutʕ/	picture	is tying
15	يركض	/yurkuðʕ/	picture	is running
17	مواقف	/mawaquf/	map	parking
18	دفاتر	/dfatur/	map	notebooks
19	شاطر	/ʃa:tʕur/	map	excellent
21	يوكل	/yukil/	picture	is eating
22	يوخذ	/yu:kuð/ tu:kuð/	picture	is taking (male/female)
23	صابر	/sʕa:bʊr/	map	patient
24	خبرة	/χubrah/	map	experience
25	مناسب	/mna:sub/	map	suitable
26	سطر	/satʕur/	map	line
27	مساطر	/msa:tʕur/	picture	rulers
28	ساطع	/sa:tʕuʕ/	map	sparkling
29	ساقط	/sa:qutʕ/	picture	failed
30	مسيطر	/msaytʕur/	map	controlling
31	فنادق	/fana:duq/	map	hotels
32	زاخر	/za:xur/	map	full of /name
33	قاسم	/qa:sum/	map	Name
34	ماسك	/ma:suk/	picture	holding
35	يفسخ	/yufsaχ/	picture	take off

2- Words which could undergo syncope

N.	Token	Task	gloss
1	رجل	/rgil/	picture foot
2	جبن	/gbin/	picture cheese
3	نجوم	/ngu:m/	picture + map stars
4	جراة	/gra:dah/	picture grasshopper
5	دجاج	/dga:g/	picture chicken
6	فجل	/fgil/	picture radish
7	كتب	/ktub/	map books
8	مساجد	/msa:gid/	map mosques
9	جدار	/gda:r/	picture wall
10	جبال	/gba:l/	map mountains
11	حريم	/hream/	picture women
12	رجال	/rga:l/	picture men
13	لحم	/lham/	picture beef
14	بصل	/bsal/	picture onions
15	عمان	/ʕman/	picture Oman
16	شقق	/ʃqaq/	map flats
17	مقطع	/mqamatʕaʕ/	picture cut
18	صعب	/sʕʕub/	picture difficult
19	دفاتر	/dfatur/	map notebooks
20	صحن	/suħu:n/	picture dishes
21	مراجل	/mra:gil/	picture large pots
22	مناسب	/mna:sub/	map suitable
23	بساط	/bsa:tʕ/	map mat
24	مساطر	/msa:tʕur/	picture rulers
25	مسيطر	/msaytʕur/	map controlling
26	ذبابه	/ðba:bah/	picture a fly
27	ذرة	/ðrah/	picture corn

Appendix E. Picture Task

أذكر اسم الأشياء الموجودة في الصور التالية



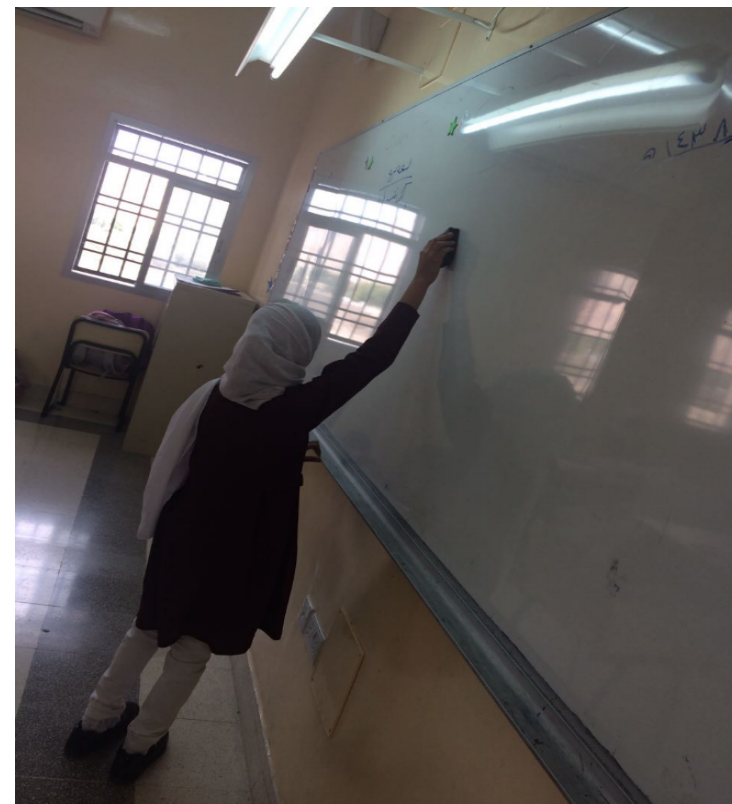
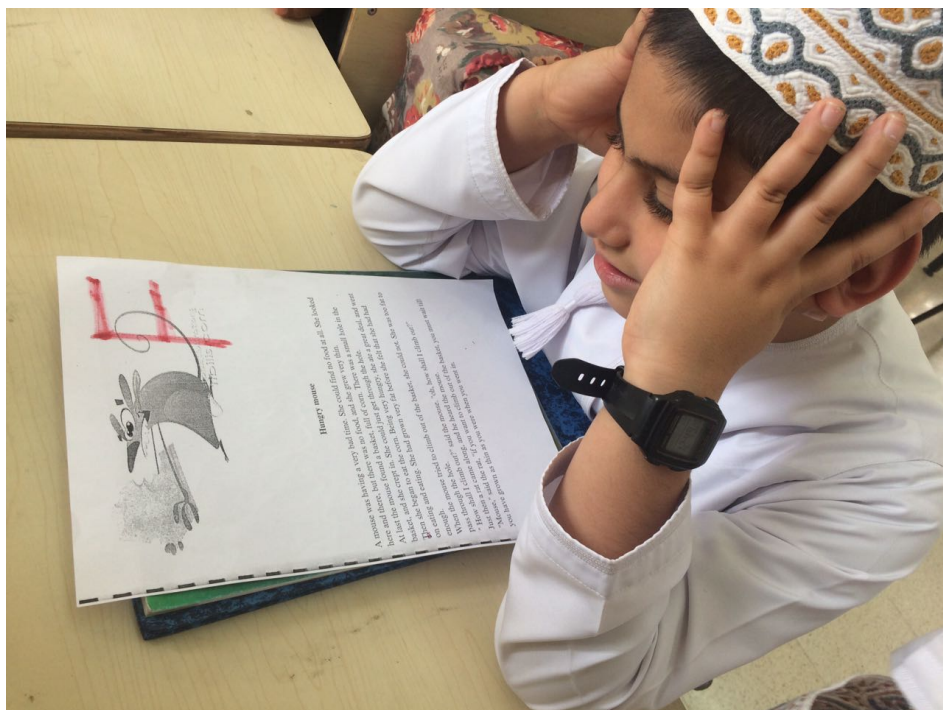






صف الأحداث في الصور التالية





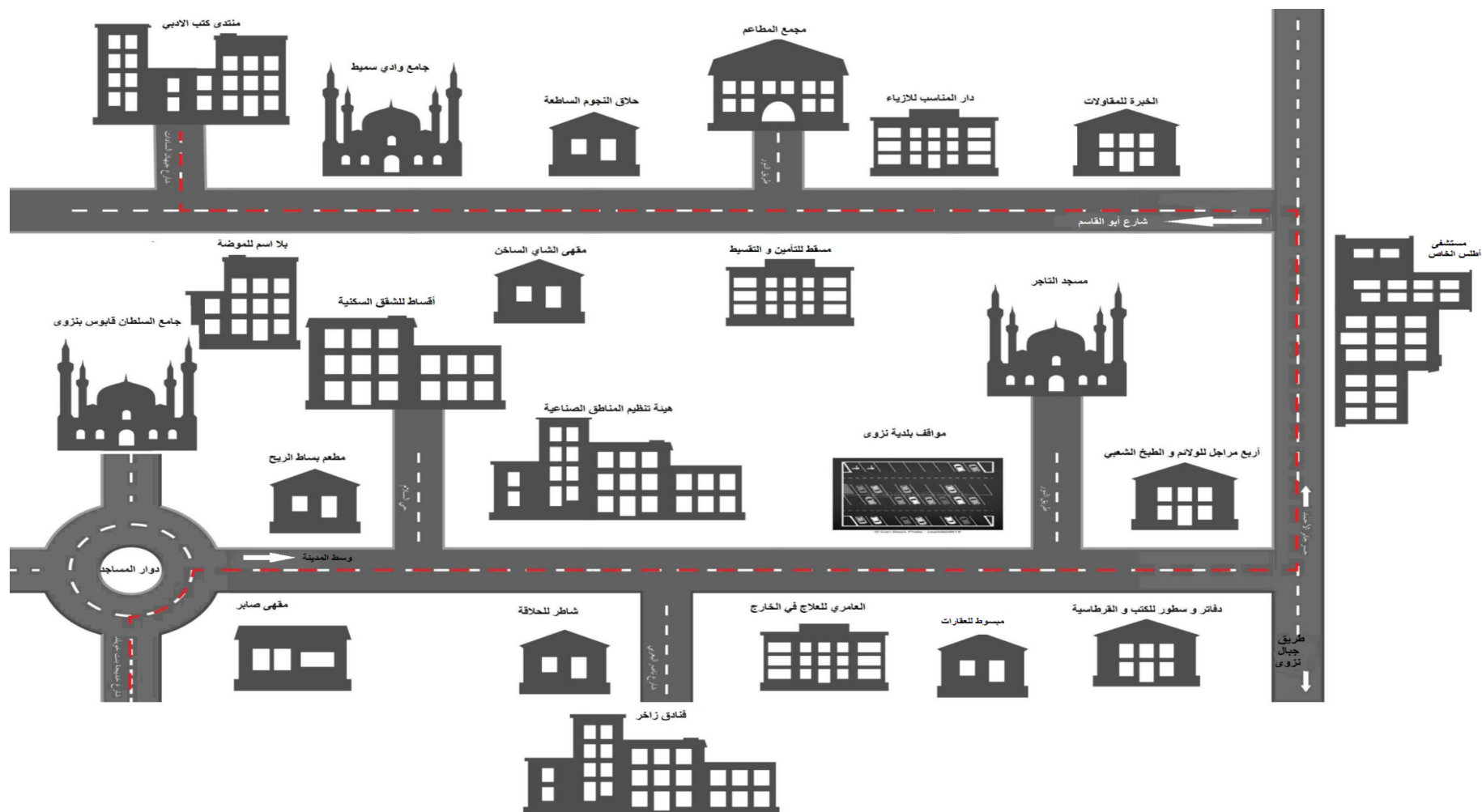








Appendix F. Map Task



Appendix G. Judgment Task: Transformation (Yes/no Questions)

The researcher read the following questions orally to the participants. The questions are in Standard Arabic and the participants were asked to ask these questions in their normal everyday use. Questions marked with (*) are distractors.

حول الاسئلة التالية من الفصحى الى لهجتك المحلية اليومية

مثال: هل رأيت كتابي؟

السياق الأول: حوار مع معلمة

- 1- هل تعملين في المدرسة؟
- 2- هل ذهبتى الى المدرسة؟
- 3- هل ذهبتى سيرا على الأقدام؟
- 4- هل المدرسة بعيدة؟
- 5- ما اسم مدرستك؟*
- 6- هل المدرسة كبيرة؟
- 7- هل أنتي معلمة؟
- 8- ما هو تخصصك؟*
- 9- هل تدرسين تخصصك؟
- 10- هل عدد طلابك كبير؟
- 11- هل تدرسين أطفالا؟
- 12- أي الصفوف تدرسين؟*
- 13- هل طلابك متفوقين؟
- 14- هل تشجعيهم؟
- 15- كم مرة في الاسبوع تطلبين من طلابك أن يقوموا بأداء واجب مدرسي؟*

السياق الثانى: حوار فى السوبر ماركت

- 16- هل يوجد جبن؟
- 17- هل العلبة كبيرة؟
- 18- هل تاريخ الانتهاء بعيد؟
- 19- هل تباع اللحم بالكيلو؟
- 20- بكم كيلو اللحم؟*
- 21- أهو لحم بقر؟
- 22- هل الخبز طازج؟
- 23- هل هو مخلوط مع خبز الأمس؟
- 24- أين الخبز الأسمر؟*
- 25- هل كرتون الصابون ب5 ريالات؟
- 26- هل تباع الجهاز باللون الأسود فقط؟
- 27- هل الجهاز الأسود أكبر عن الأبيض؟
- 28- هل فرق السعر بينهما كبير؟
- 29- ما هي الأنواع الأخرى الموجودة للجهاز؟*
- 30- هل الجهاز الأصغر أرخص سعرا؟
- 31- هل هذه الساعة رجالية؟
- 32- هل يوجد لديكم منها باللون الفضي؟
- 33- هل الشاشة باللون الأزرق فقط؟
- 34- ما هي الألوان الأخرى المتوفرة للشاشة؟*
- 35- أديكم منها واحدة فقط؟

Appendix H. Sociolinguistic Interview Schedule

The following questions are designed following Tagliamonte's (2006) interview model. Questions are designed in accordance with the Omani culture and society. These questions are designed to stimulate and prompt conversations, yet further questions could also be asked based on answers and information that informants mentioned.

• الخلفية

1. الاسم
2. تحب هذا الاسم؟ من سماك؟
3. مكان السكن . كم مدة السكن في هذا العنوان؟
4. مكان الميلاد؟
5. هل تتحدث أي لغة غير العربية؟ كيف تعلمتها؟

• الأهل و العائلة

1. أين ولد والديك؟ و جديك؟ اخوانك؟
2. كم عدد اخوانك؟ كم ترتيبك بين اخوتك؟
3. هل الأفضل أن يكون الشخص اخ/أخت اكبر او اصغر؟ لماذا؟
4. هل انت مقرب مع أي من اخوتك؟ ام تفضل ان يكون صديقك المقرب ليس من اخوتك؟
5. هل كنتم كعائلة تذهبون في رحلات؟ من يحضر؟ ماهي الأماكن التي تفضلون الذهاب اليها؟
6. أي المناطق تحب تزور في عمان؟
7. هل تعتقد أن في هذا الوقت العوائل مرتبطة مثل ما كانت في السابق؟ لماذا برأيك؟
8. كيف تتوقع الوضع سيكون في المستقبل؟ و كيف ترغب به أن يكون مع أولادك ان شاء الله؟
9. هل تتجمع عائلتكم لوجبات الطعام؟ هل يوجد تجمع عائلي اسبوعي؟
10. ماهي مميزات التجمعات العائلية؟ هل تفضل التجمعات العائلية الرمضانية؟
11. في عائلتكم هل يجلس الرجال و الحريم مع بعض أم الرجال وحدهم و الرجال وحدهم؟
12. هل تتذكر موقف طريف او محرج صار معك او مع احد من عائلتك؟
13. هل تعتقد أن كثرة التجمعات ممكن تفتح مجال أكبر للمواقف التي تسبب الحساسيات و المشاكل بين الأهل؟

14. هل تزرعو خضروات في بيت أهلك أو اجدادك؟ ماهي المزروعات مثلا ؟ تزرعو بصل, فجل, ذرة؟ تربيو حيوانات؟ دجاج
15. كنتو تروحو تمسكو جراد أو فنازيز و انتو صغار؟

• الجيران

1. أين يسكن والداك؟ لماذا اختارو هذه المنطقة؟
2. هل سكنت في مناطق أخرى؟ في أي منطقة اعجبك العيش أكثر؟ لماذا؟
3. كيف هي علاقة الجيران ببعضهم البعض في منطقة أهلك؟ هل يتعرفون على بعضهم؟ هل يتبادلون الزيارات؟ ماذا عن هذه المنطقة؟
4. كانوا الأطفال في السابق يلتقو مع بعضهم عبر الجدر.. تتذكر اذا كنت تطلع الجدار لبيت الجيران؟
5. نلاحظ انه في هذه الفترة اصبح الناس مشغولين جدا و لا يلتقون و نادرا ما يتوقفون لمجرد السلام و الحديث مع بعضهم. ما رأيك في هذه المقولة؟
6. أين تلاحظ يفضل الناس الالتقاء ببعضهم؟ البيوت ام في الخارج؟ لماذا برأيك؟
7. هل المساجد حاليا لها دور في التقاء الناس ببعضهم مثل ما كان في السابق؟
8. برايك هل حياة الناس في الشقق في الوقت الحالي لها دور في عزلتهم عن بعضهم؟ يعني الشقق ضيقه و غير مناسبة للاستقبالات؟

• الدراسة

1. ما اسم المدرسة/ المدارس التي ذهبت اليها؟
2. كيف كنت تذهب الى المدرسة؟
3. هل كان معك اي من اخوتك؟
4. أي مدرسة اعجبتك أكثر؟ لماذا؟
5. كيف تصف المعلمين أيام الدراسة؟
6. هل تعتقد أن المدرسين في الوقت الحاضر مثل السابق؟ هل تتوقع الوضع سيختلف في المستقبل؟
7. تحدث عن دراستك/ ماذا فعلت بعد الثانوية؟
8. هل كنت طالب مسالم ام مشاغب؟ مجتهد؟
9. هل كنت شاطر؟
10. هل كنت تحب الواجب؟ تكتب الواجب؟

11. خطك على السطر أم فوق او تحت السطر؟
12. هل غششت في المدرسة؟
13. كم مادة ساقط فيها؟
14. هل تتذكر اي مشاكل وقعت فيها او تم عقابك بسببها في المدرسة؟
15. هل تتذكر اشخاص مشاغبين من ايام الدراسة؟
16. تتذكر ماهي الوجبة الاساسيه المفضله لطلاب المدارس العمانيين؟ خبز وجبن وبطاطس
17. هل كنت تذهب في رحلات مدرسية؟ هل تتذكر اي رحلة؟
18. كنت تستمع بمرحلة شراء الأدوات المدرسيه؟ تختار الدفاتر و مساطر الخ
19. هل تتوقع انك في المستقبل سترسل ابنائك لمدارس حكوميه ام خاصة؟ لماذا؟

• العمل

1. أين تعمل الآن؟ هل تحب عملك؟
2. هل تعتقد ان هذا هو العمل المناسب لك؟
3. ماهي المميزات و الصعوبات في عملك؟
4. ماهو دور الخبرة في وظيفتك؟
5. ماذا تخطط لمستقبلك المهني؟ هل تفكر في تغيير وظيفتك؟
6. هل تفكر في دخول عالم التجارة وأن تصبح تاجر؟ لماذا؟
7. ماذا تعمل الان؟ أين مقر عملك؟
8. هل تخصصت في هذا المجال؟ لماذا اخترته؟
9. هل هذا التخصص هو ما كان والداك يريدوه لك؟
10. هل عملت اثناء دراستك؟
11. ماذا فعلت بأول راتب استلمته؟
12. هل تفكر انك تشتغل خارج عمان؟

• العمل للطلاب

1. ماهي الوظيفة التي تتمناها في المستقبل؟ الوظيفة المناسبة لك ف المستقبل؟
2. ماهي مميزات هذه الوظيفة؟
3. هل ترى أن نقطة الخبرة ممكن تكون عائق في سبيل حصولك على هذه الوظيفة؟
4. ماهي مخططاتك الماليه بعد الحصول على الوظيفة؟

• الصحة و الطعام

1. هل تمارس الرياضة؟ ماهي رياضتك المفضلة؟ أين تمارسها؟
2. هل لعبت رياضة معينة ايام الدراسه؟ تشارك في مسابقات رياضية؟
3. هل تؤمن بالطب البديل و التداوي بالاعشاب؟ هل تطبق اي طريقة ام تفضل استخدام الادوية الكيميائية؟

4. هل انت من النوع الذي يهتم بالتوازن الغذائي؟ ماهي الوجبات المفضلة لديك؟
5. هل السلطه من الاساسيات عندك مع وجبة الغداء؟
6. هل تحب اكل المطاعم؟ ماهي المطاعم المفضلة لديك؟
7. هل ممكن أن تاكل لحم من المطاعم؟ أم تفضل الدجاج فقط؟
8. هل جربي الشاي المثلج أيس تي؟ ام تحب الشاي الساخن؟
9. تفضل تاكل تحت على السماط أم على كرسي وطاوله؟

• التربية و الأجيال الحالية

1. تحدث عن طفولتك. كيف تصف طفولتك؟ سعيدة؟ هل كنت طفل فوضوي؟ ماذا تتذكر عن ايام الطفوله؟
2. هل جربت النوم في السطح؟
3. هل تحب المقالب؟ هل تنفذ مقالب على اخوتك واصدقائك؟ هل تحب ان تتعرض للمقالب؟ مارايك في برامج المقالب (رامز قرش البحر اكل الجو)؟
4. يقال أن الأجيال الخاليه تختلف عن جيل الثمانينات والاجيال السابقيه.. في نظرك هل الأجيال الحالية مثل جيلك؟ هل التربية حاليا اصعب؟ لماذا؟
5. هل من صعوبات تتوقعها في تربيتك أبناءك في المستقبل؟
6. هل تعتقد ان الاجيال الحالية يخططون لحياتهم العمليه و يفكرون بالحصول على عمل و بناء مستقبلهم؟

• الهوايات

1. هل لديك هوايات معينة؟
2. تحب تشتري كتب؟ ايش الكتاب المفضل عندك؟
3. هل تحب مشاهدة التلفزيون؟ اي برامج؟
4. هل تحب السفر؟ تحب السكن في الفنادق؟

5. تفضل تروح للطبيعة؟ أم اماكن داخلية؟ تخلي معك في بساط في السيارة؟
6. هل لازم تاخذ سخانة قهوة معك في الرحلات؟
7. ماهي الاماكن التي سافرت اليها؟ تحدث عنها ماذا اعجبك و ماذا لم يعجبك؟
8. الكثير من الناس يواجهون مواقف او صعوبات في السفر. هل تعرضت لموقف معين؟ (تاجيل رحله/ فانتك رحله/ فقدت حقائب)
9. يواجه العديد من الناس من الجنسيات الاخرى صعوبات في السفر. هل تعتقد ان السفر ميسر للعمانيين من قبل الدول الاخرى؟

• البناء

1. هل تعتقد انه من الافضل ان تشتري منزلا جاهزا ام تبني؟ لماذا؟
2. تحدث عن تجربتك فب البناء. ماذا تنصح الاخرين باتباعه و اجتنابه؟ هل من اشياء تثير قلقك بخصوص البناء؟

• العادات و التقاليد

1. هل تعتقد ان الشعب العماني متمسك بعاداته وتقاليديه؟ (الاعياد و المناسبات الاجتماعية)
2. ماهي بعض العادات التي تلتزم بها و التي تتفق معها؟ هل يوجد عادات لا تتفق معها؟
3. ماهي عاداتكم في رمضان؟ في العيد؟
4. في اي عمر تشجع على الزواج؟ لماذا برايك؟
5. هل تعتقد العمانيين مسرفين في ولائهم؟ يعزمو اعداد كبيره و يطلبو مراحل عيش و لحم بكميات كبيرهز أم هم برايك معتدلين؟
6. تفضل أنه افراد الاسره ياكلو في صحن منفردة ام في صحن واحد؟ ولماذا؟
7. هل تشجع العادات العمانيه في الزواج (العزومات العديده) و التوجهات الحاليه في الانفاق على الزواج؟

• أمور متنوعة

1. هل تفكر بالاستقرار في مسقط أم نزوى؟
2. هل تفضل دفع الاجهزة الالكترونيه او السيارة بالنقسيط ام مجملا؟
3. تفضل انه الشخص ياخذ معه مبالغ ماليه في السفر او حتى التسوق أم تعتمد على البطاقة؟
4. في رايك أيهم افضل الطقس البارد أم الحار؟

5. هل تحب الحيوانات؟ اي حيوانات؟ هل كان لديك حيوان عندما كنت صغيرا؟ هل ستسمح لاولادك ان يربو حيوانات؟

6. هل قابلت شخص مشهور من قبل؟ من الشخص الذي تود ان تقابله؟

7. هل تقوم باي عمل تطوعي؟ هل جهة عملك تطالبك باداء اي عمل تطوعي؟

8. هل تشجع الفرق التطوعية العمانية؟ هل تعتقد انهم يساهمون في المجتمع؟ هل تعتقد انه يوجد وعي بوجودهم؟

9. ماهي مخططاتك الشخصية واهدافك للمستقبل؟ ماذا نريد ان نحقق؟

10. هل سبق ان تنومت في المستشفى؟ لماذا؟

11. هل سبق ان كنت في موقف اعتبرت نفسك محظوظ جدا؟

12. هل لديك تجربة مخيفه تتذكرها؟

13. هل انت من النوع الذي يحس بان شي سيء لاسمح الله سيحدث؟ هل تعرف شخصا كهذا؟

14. هل تعتقد بان الاحلام ممكن ان تكون ذات معنى؟ هل سبق ان حلمت شيئا و صدق تفسيره؟

• اللغة

1. هل لديك اي ملاحظه عن طريقة تحدث الناس (اهل نزوى) هذه الايام؟ هل هناك اختلاف ام انها كالسابق؟

2. هل تعتقد انك تتحدث بنفس طريقة والديك ام ان هناك اختلاف؟ هل الاجيال الحاليه يتحدثون بنفس طريقة اباؤهم و اجدادهم؟ ماهي بعض الاختلافات

3. هل تعتقد انك احيانا تغير طريقة كلامك؟ ماهي بعض التغييرات التي تقوم بها؟ لماذا؟

4. كيف تعبر ان شخص ما غير متواجد؟

5. هل تسمع عبارته: "فلان ماحد"؟ ماذا يقصد بها؟ من يقولها؟ هل يستخدمها اهل نزوى سابقا؟ هل

تستخدمها انت؟ هل يستخدمها اهل نزوى حاليا؟

Appendix I. Arabic Scripts for Speakers' Comments

CHAPTER	Example No.	ARABIC SCRIPT
6	1.a	<p>SKA:</p> <p>فيه تغيير واحد (في لهجه اهل نزوى) و انا ملاحظته ف جيلنا حنوه و اكثر شي لاحظته بعد ما توز عنا كل حد ف منطقه نتعلم،... ايوا أتوقع التعليم له دور... واتوقع التداخل مع اللهجات الثانية له دور.. تغيرت هيه واحد تأثرت باللهجات الثانية</p>
6	1.b	<p>AH:</p> <p>(في مسقط) لهجة نزوى بدت تقل يعني، شي مصطلحات واحد بدت تقل ويمكن راحت شي منها. ما أعرف يمكن عاد بسبب الانتقال؟ أو انه سبحانه الله الاحتكاك بناس من مختلف المناطق، ف فيه مصطلحات تعرفي إنك لو استخدمتها ما يفهموها... وإنه ببستغربوها... ف انتي تلقائيا تختاري الكلمة اللي تناسبهم.</p>
6	1.c	<p>ZY:</p> <p>الأجيال الحالية واحد غيروا اللهجة... يوم يجيوا مسقط لهجتهم تتأثر بشكل كبير... يمكن لأنه يوم تجي تتكلمي الناس: "موه؟ مو يعني؟ ما همت؟ ولا عيدي"، فتحسي الناس (مال نزوى) تبدي تستخدم المصطلحات اللي هم يستخدموها الناس الثانيين، يعني ف تبدي تأثر على لغته... فيه شي منهم نفس الشي كأنه يقالش مثلا "نتيه قحيه تتكلمي بذي الطريقة" فتحسي... أبغى أتكم بأسلوب متطور.</p>
6	1.d	<p>KNS:</p> <p>فيه تغييرات ف لهجة نزوى في الجيل الحالي، الكلمات اللي ينطقوها والمصطلحات اللي شياهم وآبائهم ينطقوها يمكن الجيل اللي احنا فيه والجيل اللي بعدنا أقل، بعض الكلمات صارت تختفي... ربما بعض الأحيان هذا التطور... وصارت بعض الأحيان إنه كما نقول يعيب عليك يعني يستهزأ بك. يعني مثلا كلمات احنا نقولها فصاروا الشباب يعلقوا عليها... أو ربما بعض الأشخاص الموجودين عندك إذا قلت الكلمات ما يفهموها... فلازم تنتقي الكلمات وكيف تقولها لأنه ما يفهموك.</p>
6	2.a	<p>SKA:</p> <p>ايوا موجود (التغيير في لهجة نزوى). وأتوقع بعدما تداخلوا مع ناس ثانيين (من مناطق أخرى) ف عشان يراويوا أنه ممكن أنا ممكن أكون في نفس حالتك الاجتماعية استخدم لهجة بيضاء، أو انه عشان أغير مستوى ثقافي أكبر</p>

6	2.b	SHSA: <p>فيه تغيير وكلمات جديدة (في لهجة نزوى) ... يمكن لأنه المجتمع تحضر شويه، ويعني اللغة العربية الفصحى الناس عرفوها أكثر لأنه تعلموا الناس وأول ما كان فيه التعليم كان مقصور حال فئات معينة حال أشخاص معينين... ف عشان كذا أحس انه التعليم له دو (في تغيير اللهجة).</p>
6	2.c	BK: <p>هو شي اختلافات (في لهجة نزوى في الجيل الحالي).. انت جيت الى مسقط فتخالط الناس وتوخذ منهم وتغير عاد... وسالفة نفس الشئ انه شي ناس يشوفو إنه هذلا متطورين فأنا ليش ما أتطور وأتكلّم كماهم.</p>
6	3.a	SAZ: <p>أحاول إني استخدم اللهجة مال نزوى، لكني أحصل نفسي بعض الأحيان إني ما عندي هذك القدرة إني أتكلّمها ١٠٠٪ مثل أول، على الرغم إني أقدر أقول اني في الفترات الماضية أقدر أقول إني اشتغلت في اللهجة مالي شغل، يعني فيه كثير من الألفاظ اللي أخذتها من مسقط تخلصت منها و رجعت لألفاظي مال نزوى.</p>
6	3.b	MAA: <p>لا أبدا (ما أحس إني تأثرت باللهجات الثانية)، أنا يعني قالولي نتية انسانه حتى ما غيرتي لهجتش يوم تكلّمينا.</p>
6	3.c	KKN: <p>أنا دايمًا هذي النقطة أنا أركز عليها، يعني مثلاً يوم نكون جالسين شباب من نزوى ومعظمهم من الباطنة ومن مكان (آخر) أقولهم الكلمة بو حنوه متعودين نقولها (في نزوى) وأقولهم معناها، ما أحاول إني أنا أتكلّم كماهم. أحس شي منهم (شباب نزوى) يخلّوا مثلاً، أنا ما فيّ هذا الخجل، عادي يعني.</p>
6	3.d	RNK: <p>أنا ما أحس إني غيرت ف لهجتي، يعني عادي من يوم صغيرة لين كبرت (وأنا نفس اللهجة استخدم)</p>
6	3.e	NK: <p>تحسي فيه شي غريب إنه ما متعودين عليه..كيف هم تركوا لهجتنا وراحوا يجيبوا اللهجة اللي موجودة فمسقط؟!... أنا طبيعتي لا ما أحب أغير لهجتي أحب أتكلّم نفس ما أنا متعودة.</p>

7	(1)	YB: <p>طبعاً ضروري (إني أغير لهجتي) ضروري، أنا ما من الخجل لكن أحياناً الموقف يعني مثلاً لما تتكلمي مع مثلاً مسئولينك المباشرين أو إذا كانوا حتى مش عمانيين أيضاً، بدل ما يستوفوكي على كل كلمة. وأحياناً الناس يقيسوك يقيسوا ثقافتك بأسلوبك في الكلام أيضاً. ف يعني أنا استخدم اللغة المناسبة للموقف.</p>
7	2.a	SAZ: <p>في الفترات الماضية أقدر أقول إني اشتغلت في اللهجة مالي شغل ... يعني مثلاً قضية الشين، مثلاً "عندش" ومادري ايش، هذي رجعتها... هذي (الشين) أنا مرجعتها وحدي (بعدما كنت استخدم الكاف) يعني ما تلقائي محافظ عليها... لأنني حسيت إني ماشي حتى راحت الهوية ف على الأقل أحاول أحافظ (من خلال المحافظة على لهجتي).</p>
7	2.b	MSR: <p>فيه ناس يغيروا لهجتهم عشان كما تقولوا التباهي، مثلاً... عندنا حنوه (في لهجة نزوى) ننطق القاف و الجيم، مثلاً هن يقلبها شي منهن يعني جيم و ياء، حتى هنا في الجامعة نشوفهن بنات من نزوى... حتى طريقة اللبس و الشكل تحسبهن ما منا... هن مغيرات مثلاً يقولن كيفك (بدل كيفش)</p>
7	3.a	FSS: <p>حنوه عندنا في الجامعة انت تتخالط مع ناس من ولايات ثانية فتضطر إنك تستخدم مصطلحات ولغة مشتركة بينكم... من باب إنه يفهمونا يعني</p>
7	3.b	RSS: <p>أحياناً أبوا اضطر أغير (لهجتي) بس مثلاً بطريقة معينة ما إنه اللهجة كامل، فأحياناً أبوا أغير في حالة إنه البنات اللي معي كانت ما تفهم مثلاً كلامي.</p>

7	3.c	BYH: الناس صارت تغير من طريقة كلامها يمكن عشان تتأقلم مع الثانيين، لأنهم ما يعرفوا مثلاً الكلمات اللي احنا نقولها.
7	3.d	SHK: هذا شي يحصل بشكل تلقائي (إني أغير لهجتي في العمل في مسقط) عشان أتواصل... مثلاً زميلاتي فيه من الشرقية فيه من الظاهرة فيه من الباطنة... وحتى أحياناً نطق المصطلحات وأحياناً المعنى يختلف.
7	3.e	MKA: خاصة هنا بو يتعلم فمسقط تحس إنك لا إرادياً لهجتك تتغير يوم تجي هنا... استوينا مركزيين كلنا هنا فمسقط ف استوى هذا لغته كذا وهذا لغته كذا، فلازم نوصل ل لهجه مشتركة في النص يكون كلنا نروم نتفاهم.
7	3.f	YSG: شي كلمات (في لهجة نزوى) يعني صعب إنه شخص ثاني يفهمك من منطقة أخرى، يعني مثلاً... الباطنة ما يفهمني، مثلاً شخص من جنوب عمان ما يفهمني مو جالس أقوله، فلازم أنا أتدارك يعني أقرب من اللغة مالي، وبعدين لاتنسي أنا لما أنتقل مسقط بختلط مع مجموعة من الناس مش مجموعة من نفس المنطقة، مجموعة من مناطق مختلفة.
7	3.g	SH: الحين فيه اختلاط مع ناس ثانية من عدة مناطق... ف انتي تحاولي لما تتكلمي يكون بكلمات مفهومة، بعض الكلمات العامية هذي نحاول نتفادها لأنه الناس ما راح تفهمها... فيحاول الواحد إنه يتركها.
7	(4)	إذا حصلت وظيفة هنا فأكيد بسكن فمسقط
7	(5)	SAZ: بعطيش مثال بسيط... أقول لزميلي في الجامعة أيام الجامعة "كتبت الواجب؟"، ف هو ما من نزوى قال لي "ايش شايفني قدامك بنت؟"، لهجتنا احنا نكسر الحرف الأخير، هو ما موجود عنده ف هو يسمعها كتبتني، أنا من نزوى أي أحد يتكلم أقدر أميز أنه يقصد مؤنث ولا يقصد سؤال، بينما من خارج نزوى ما يقدر يميز... فأنا ما أقدر أقدر أتكلم بهذي الطريقة قدام واحد من خارج نزوى.

7	(6)	SF: <p>وحدة من الأشياء اللي تأثرت بها... هي احنا مال نزوى مثلا نتكلم نقول الكلمات اللي نضيف لها الهاء آخر شي... الكلمة نفسها سؤال ونضيفها هاء، مثلا اللي هي كذاكه؟، يعني هذي وحده من الأشياء اللي تأثرت بها، احنا واجد نقولها كذاكه؟ كذاكه؟ مال الشرقية مثلا يضحكوا علي، يعني مال الشرقية البدو: "مو نوبا ذي كذاكه؟، كذاك، كذي"، يعني ف خلاص أصبحت أنا يوم أتكلم معهم ما أقول كذاكه؟ ... أقول كذاك... وبدبت استخدم بدون الهاء اللي أقرب للفصح.</p>
8	(1)	SKA: <p>خالي يدرس هنا في الجامعة ف لاحظ عليه يوم يتكلم لهجته غير عن يوم مثلا يكون ف نزوى، ف حتى هو قال اني أحاول استخدم بو يسميها اللهجة البيضاء انه على أساس الطلاب يفهموني، انا متأكد انه اذا تكلمت كامل كامل نزواني يعني ما يفهموني بالضبط، ف ممكن هو من ناحيه انه عشان يوصلو المعلومه او عشان الطرف الثاني يفهمه اكثر ف حالة انه ما من نزوى... ومن ناحية انه يريدوا يرتقبوا أكثر، هيو... نوعا ما تحسي انه فيه هذاك (الاعتبار انه) اللهجة نفسها او اللهجات بشكل عام انها معروفة انها ما بريستيجس...، ف وأتوقع بعدما تداخلوا مع ناس ثانيين ف عشان يراويوا أنه ممكن أنا ممكن أكون في نفس حالتك الاجتماعية استخدم لهجة بيضاء، أو انه عشان أغير مستوى ثقافي أكبر</p>
8	2.a	AK: <p>احنا كمقيمين فمسقط نرجع لنزوى في الأعياد، ع الأسبوعين الثلاثة مرة، مازال موجود عندنا تجمعات عائلية أسبوعية ودايما احنا نلبي الدعوات... عائلتنا احنا حريصين عليها... في مسقط معظم المناطق صارت خليطه ما بين العمانيين والوافدين... سكنت في منطقة جديدة جلست سنة أحاول أتكلم مع جاري، نلتقي عند اللفت وأسلم عليه وبعدها كل واحد منا يروح في مصعد، ف كان لهذي الدرجة وبعض منهم كانوا عمانيين... ف في هذي المناطق تحسي الترابط (مع الجيران) يصل فيها للصفر.</p>
8	2.b	HK: <p>حنوه (عائلتنا) هنا (فمسقط) يعني عشان أبوي شغله، بس يعني عندنا بيت فنزوى وفمسقط وفي الصيف نروح نزوى. شي منهم (أعمامي وخالاتي) هنا فمسقط... حنوه أكثر شي نتجمع فنزوى وفمسقط كذلك ننزور وكذا. لو كنا ف ويكند ما رايحين (نزوى) فنتجمع مثلا ننزور هم خالي نتعشى مثلا... فنزوى غير يعني الترابط أكثر مع الجيران، هنا (فمسقط) غير ما نفس ذك القوة.</p>

8	2.c	SF: <p>(التداخل والتعارف بين الجيران) أقل نوعاً ما هنا (فمسقط)... أنا أرجح لجانب نزوى أكثر لأنه كما قتلش هم (الناس) من نفس البيئه من زمان ويكاد يكون نفس الأفكار نفس العادات، ونفس كل شي، لكن الشي اللي يفرق انه هذول (السكان في مسقط) جايين من مناطق مختلفة، هذا اللي يخليك انت نوعاً ما ما تبغى تدخل معهم، ما لشي ترا ما لأنه فيه يعني حاجز بس سبحان الله الشخص المختلف عنك بعض الأحيان هو كذاك يعني ما تبغى تدخل معه بشكل كبير.</p>
8	(3)	SKA: <p>في المستقبل الخوف على الجانب الأخلاقي لأنه المدرسه ما بس تعال و طيهم معلومات، فيه واجد جانب تربوي و أخلاقي خصوصاً انه الطلاب اغلب وقتهم في المدرسه أكثر من البيت و يتأثرو باقرانهم أكثر من ممكن امهم و ابوهم و إخوانهم، ف واجد هذا الجانب مهم، يعني واجد واجد واجد، و أنا واحد من الأسباب بو يخليني ارفض اجي اسكن ف مسقط انه اخواني ما مخلصين مدارس، بالرغم انه الوضع ما نفسه ف نزوى (مثل ما كان الوضع في الماضي) بس احسه ارحم يعني. أنا ما عندي مشكله انه يكون الطالب مستواه متدني بس اخلاقه و تربيته صح... هنا (فمسقط) اغلب خوالي هنا كلهم أولادهم الذكور كلهم مدارس خاصه بسبب الخوف عليهم من ناحية انه ف مدارس مسقط انه فيه مثلاً ممارسات اللي ممكن توصل أحياناً للمخدرات وشي ممارسات غير أخلاقية أكثر، ف هم يدرسوهم ف مدارس خاصه ما عشان ماده علميه أكثر من كون انه الخوف عليهم انه يروحوا طريق خطأ.</p>
8	(4)	AH: <p>هم ثلاثة بيوت اخواني ومعهم اختي ساكنين جنب بعض، أنا ساكن منطقة الحيل... وموجودين (في العمل) زملاء حالنا من مناطق ثانية مثلاً من الشرقية ومن صلاله وغيرهم.</p>
8	(5)	Dr. Mahmood Al-Riyami: <p>مجتمعنا برجماتك فوق اللازم، يعني مثلاً احنا نكسر اللغة عشان الآخر يفهمنا حتى لو هو فهم لغتنا أصلاً... ف عندنا الاحتفاء بالآخر أياً كان وتقديره وتلين له سواء في اللغة أو غير اللغة فوق اللازم.</p>

8	(6)	AH: هو التعليم من يومه، يعني ما أنه يستخدم ألفاظ عامية أو شي (عشان يَأثر على اللهجة). لكن يبقى احتكاك المجتمع والبيئة اللي فيها يعني، لأنه هذي الالفاظ هي فقط من البيئة، من الجيرة من الناس اللي حوالينك و المعمة، لكن يعني التعليم من أساسه ما يخبرنا الكلمات العامية
8	7.a	NAZ: طبعاً (اللهجة) تتغير لأنه الآن معرضين لمصادر غير اللي أهالينا كانوا معرضين لها، حتى في زمن آبائنا المتعلم ما يتكلم نفس طريقة الغير متعلم، المتعلم يقرأ كتب ويستخدم عبارات وجمل ومصطلحات الغير متعلم ما كان يطّلع عليها، فالإنسان وهو يتكلم تعرفي انتي هذا متعلم من طريقة كلامه.
8	7.b	MR: شي تغير (في لهجة نزوى)، وهذا التغير في المقاطع، في الأصوات، وفي دلالات جديدة استعملت... وفي تركيب الجملة وفي حتى طريقة النطق، الأوائل (كانت لديهم) سرعة النطق أكثر، الآن شويه الناس عقلهم ارتفع وزاد... واللي عنده تعلم ينصت وكذا... والانسان اللي عنده تعلم ف سرعة الكلام قلت عنده... قديما ما كان كذاك (لعدم وجود التعليم).
8	8.a	SKA: أنا بصراحة ما من النوع بو ممكن انه يبتعد لفترة طويلة، يعني أنا من نزوى حال مسقط أحياناً شهر ما أحمل.
8	8.b	MSS: في الجمعة اللي ما أكون راجعة فيها هنا من مسقط أحس إنه شي ناقصني، يعني ف اسبوعي فيه حاجه يعني غير، هو يعني هذاك التجمع (العائلي الأسبوعي) أحس فاقدتته.
8	9.a.	SF: واجد واجد كان (الترابط) يعني هناك فنزوى، يعني كنا يعني يكاد يكون ماشي بيت ما نعرف كل حد فيه من كبير وصغير، وما ل بس اللي يسكنوا يعني، يعني حتى ولاد عمومتهم و خوالهم و خالاتهم، ومن يجي يزورهم هذلا الناس و من ما يجي، يعني حتى لهذي الدرجة نعرف، طبعاً يوم كنا صغار كنا نلعب مع أولاد الجيران... و نروح المدرسة مع بعض.. نسأل عن بعض... (الترابط) موجود أكثر في نزوى.. سبحان الله يعني هنا (فمسقط) يعني مشغولين يعني الشباب، مثلاً اخواني يعني من الصعوبة مثلاً ... اروح أزوره بدون لا أقوله باغي أجيك، او اتصل به على الأقل في الطريق ... وكذا يعني، هذي ما تكون موجودة فنزوى مثلاً، اسير اطلب عليه البيت كذاك يعني... تو أنا عايش فمسقط ومعيش أولادي ف ذي البيئة، هذي البيئة سبحان الله حتى لو حاولت إني أنشئهم بالطريقة اللي احنا نشأنا فيها هي أصلاً البيئة ما تساعد، لأنه هناك (فنزوى) جاين كلهم من مكان واحد ومن ثقافة وحده... هنا (فمسقط) أغلبهم مهاجرين من خارج مسقط.. وثقافات متنوعة وناس مختلفين وحتى مستويات اجتماعية مختلفة... فيه شي أهم هناك (فنزوى) شي يجمعهم يعني مبادئ دينية ... مبادئ مشتركة بين الأباء كلهم.

8	9.b	ZY: كنا نتجمع ف بيت جدي و جدتي (ف نزوى)، أول تلقى البيت ل متروس، /زي حد يجي ف أي وقت.. الحين اختلف، جدي و جدتي انتقلو مسقط من سنه أو سنتين، ف استوى نتجمع لكن ما كل العايلة تجي مثلا، يعني أحيانا خوالي كذا ما أشوفهم الا للفترات و استوى مثلا أحس ما كما أول (ف نزوى) انش ممكن تروحي مع أي حد تزوريه... تو لازم نقول "لا ما مخربينهم يمكن ما يناسبهم"... الجارات ف نزوى واجد أحسن (عن مسقط)، ماشاء الله تلقين العصر خاطفات كلهن رايجان العزا، رايجات المربييه، رايجات يتقهيون، العصر كان واجد تجمعات يسوين... فمسقط ما حد عندي (جارات)، لو تصدقي عندي وحده هنا معي في الدوام تشتغل تكون جارتني، و أشوفها في الدوام لكني بعدني ما رحلتها بيتهم و لا استوى زيارات و لاشي.
8	9.c	MSS: أحس إنه المدارس الحكومية في مسقط نوعا ما الجانب الأخلاقي عندهم شويه أقل عن المناطق اللي داخل (مثل نزوى) ... فنزوى عادي (تخلي أولادش) فمدارس حكومية لأنه الاهتمام أكثر والجانب الأخلاقي مهتمين فيه وأكثر شادين على الطلاب أكثر (عن مسقط).
8	(10)	YB: انا ما اميل انه (أولادي) يعيشوا هنا (في مسقط) مع احترامي الشديد للأسر وللناس وللمكان ككل ... لأنه فيها خليط ولأنه هنا يعني السيطرة شويه عليهم صعبه بينما في البلد (نزوى) أي نعم شي مراكز وفيها حياة عصرية وفيه كل شي، لكن بظل الطابع الاجتماعي شويه يعني مازال حاضِر وبقوة بعد... مع العلم أنا أتعب هنا (في مسقط وحدي) يعني أتعود (في نزوى) على أسرة و على أولاد ف إنني أعيش لحالي صعبة جداً جداً، لكن أضحى براحتي ع أساس أربي أولادي (في نزوى)
8	11.a	ZY: أنا ماغيرت لهجتي واجد... أنا ما فيني هذي الطبيعة (إني أتأثر) وأتكلم كما الآخرين.
8	11.b	MAA: ايوا (أنا ما أغير لهجتي)، يعني أنا ليش أغير يعني... أنا ما عندي هذاك المبدأ إنني أغير لهجتي عشان هن (صديقاتي في سكن الجامعة) يفهمني، أحس واجد حلو أنه أنا يعني ما أغير لهجتي وهن ما يغيرن، ونتعلم كلمات حلوة.
8	11.c	KNS: أنا مثلا أقول كلمات احنا نقولها (ف لهجة نزوى) ... وهنا (في مسقط) يعلقوا عليّ، بس أنا ما أهتم فيهم أقولها بعدني حتى لو يضحكوا... بعض الأحيان أقول مصطلحات و يقولولي "مو نوبا هذي؟" فأقولهم صراحة خلاص لهجتي بابين تفهموها، و أقولهم المعنى.

8	11.d	YSR: أغلبهم (شباب نزوى) متمسكين فمصطلحاتهم حتى لو إنهم مثلاً يضحكوا عليهم... فأنا أحاول أثبت لهم أنه أصلاً هذي السمات في اللهجة هي أصلاً لغة عربية فصيحة.
8	11.e	YB: أنا لأنني اشتغل في المتحف ما زلت ف أستحضر الكثير من الكلمات المحلية... أنا أحمد الله يمكن عملي ساعدني إنني أحافظ على لهجتي وأنا فرحان وأحب استخدمها.
8	(12)	SF: هو الحقيقة فيه تأثر (باللهجات الأخرى) بس ما أقدر أقول انه فيه مسخ أو تغير كبير في اللهجة مال نزوى الشباب... دائماً الاحتكاك مع أي شعب مع أي عايله مع أي ثقافه يكون فيه أثر... بس أنا أشوفه في نطاق المقبول في الشباب مال نزوى، يعني بو ألقاهم هنا (فمسقط) وبو نتكلم معهم وكذا في نطاق المقبول... يعني بعض الشباب يستهجن بو يقولو كلمات ما مال نزوى.
8	(13)	YSR: شي شباب نزوى بمجرد يجي (مسقط) ما بس لهجته من كل شي ينسلخ، يعني شفت واحد استغربت، لابسلي هذاك المصير كما مال البدوان اللي يسويوا تحت الأحمر، انتزقت! خير! مو جاك؟!... يعني حتى كلامه يغيره كل شي غير يعني، فأنا أحسهم ذلاً بو واجد يعني يروحوا مسقط يفتحوا بدرجة كبيرة... إذا كان الأب أصلاً منشأ ولاده على مبدأ أصيل، إنه تراك إنت هذا بو إنت فيه هذا شي زين و انك كذا و كذا و يشدد عليه إنه يحترم طبيعتنا ، من يروح خارج ما يفتح بشكل سلبي... ما يروح و يتخلي عن مبادئه أبداً أبداً، فيعتبر هذا حاله هذا فخر، لا أنا أتكلم كذا و أنا أصلاً كذا.